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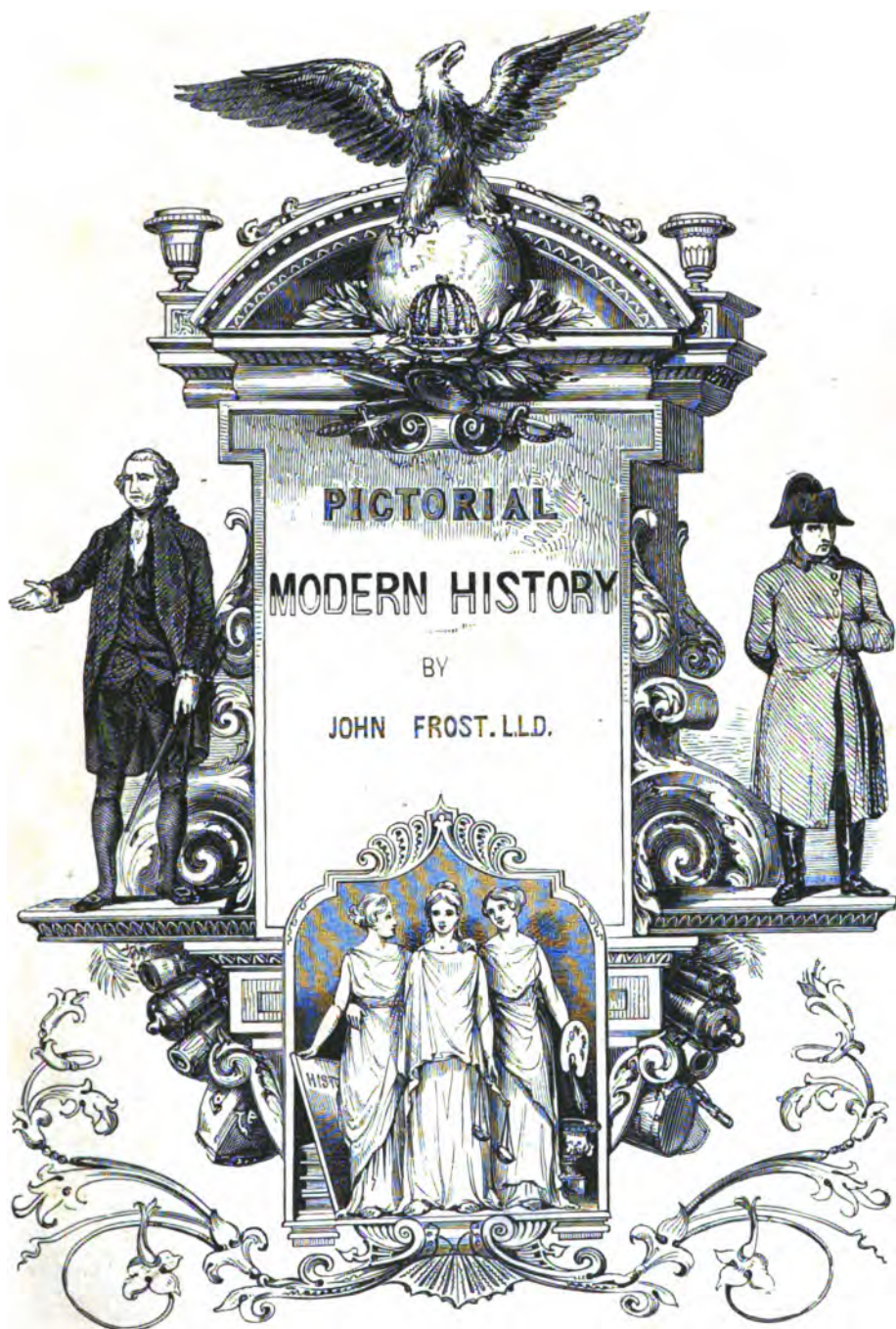
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PICTORIAL
MODERN HISTORY,

FROM

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS
TO THE PRESENT TIME.



BY JOHN FROST, LL.D.

PROFESSOR OF BELLES LETTRES IN THE HIGH SCHOOL OF PHILADELPHIA.

PHILADELPHIA :
CHARLES J. GILLIS.
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To condense the leading events of modern history into the space afforded in the following pages has been by no means an easy task. As history advances from antiquity to the Middle Ages, and from the Middle Ages to modern times, the affairs of nations continually become more and more complicated and extensive, until the multitude of characters and events, which present themselves to notice, completely bewilder the mind. Hence the choice of important points on which the reader's attention should be fixed requires a great deal of care and reflection. It has been the author's aim to acquit himself in this respect in as faithful a manner as his ability and means permitted. He has endeavoured to present the subject in broad masses, avoiding minute details,

and bringing into strong relief the men and things that have exerted the strongest influence on the grand current of human affairs. The divisions of the subject are few, and the narrative as simple and direct as so extensive a plan would by any means permit. Leading characters and events are dwelt upon according to the author's estimate of their relative importance, and others are necessarily passed over with, comparatively, slight notice. But little space has been afforded to the history of our own country, from the conviction that this course would be most acceptable to intelligent readers, familiar as they are with all the great events of American history.

It will be perceived by the references to authorities, which occur in the work, that the author has generally relied on the most recent and approved for his facts. It is incumbent on him, in taking leave of his task, to express his obligations to the great living writers of whose labours he has freely availed himself; and to the artists and literary friends who have so kindly aided him in the prosecution of the work. In conclusion, he trusts that this Pictorial History may in some degree contribute to the more general diffusion of a taste for history and the fine arts.





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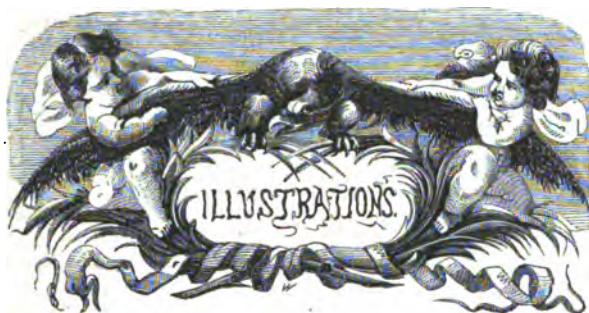
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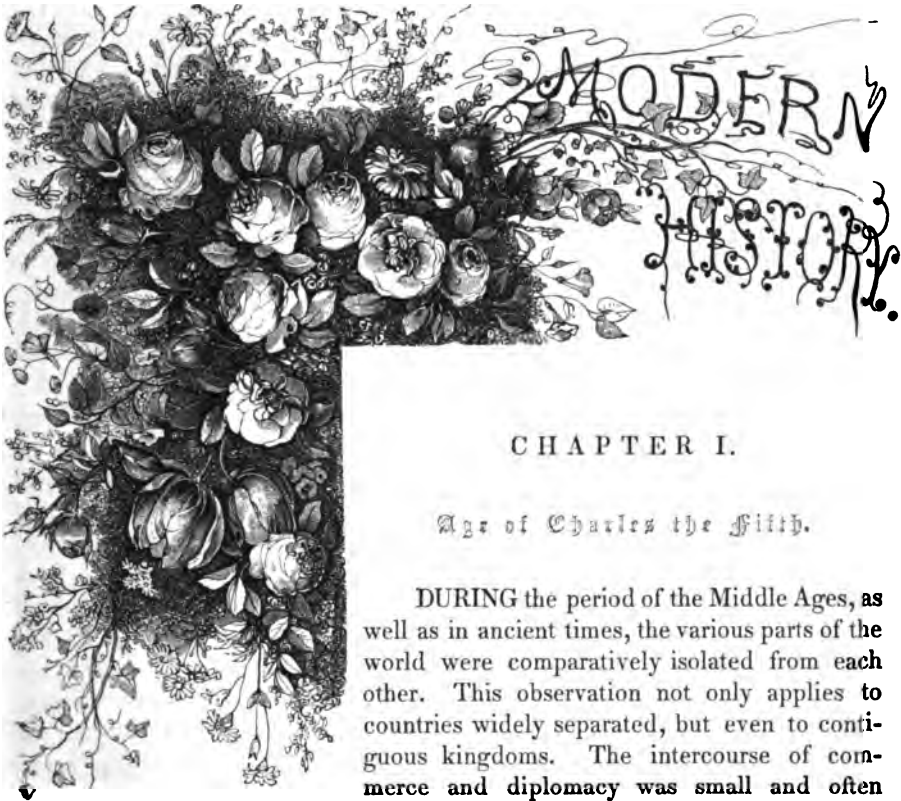
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CHAPTER I.

Age of Charles the Fifth.

DURING the period of the Middle Ages, as well as in ancient times, the various parts of the world were comparatively isolated from each other. This observation not only applies to countries widely separated, but even to contiguous kingdoms. The intercourse of commerce and diplomacy was small and often interrupted. Communication by land or water was slow and difficult; and military or naval expeditions were frequently defeated by causes which in modern times do not exist. But the invention of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the art of printing, were destined to effect great and important changes in the whole aspect of human affairs, and in the latter part of the fifteenth century these causes were already beginning to operate.

The fresh impulse given to commercial intercourse, the wider diffusion of books and learning, and the new system of military operations, could not fail to produce striking changes in political affairs; and accordingly we shall soon see the different nations of Europe united in a common system of diplomacy, ever vigilant, and jealous of mutual encroachments, and as remarkable for their attention to the movements of each other, and their ready interference in foreign politics, as they had formerly been for their total neglect of every thing which

did not compel their attention by the immediate pressure of danger or hope of aggrandizement.

There is no circumstance which more strikingly distinguishes our own times from those which preceded them, than the remarkable change which has taken place in the modes of warfare since the discovery and general use of gunpowder.

No one who reads the history of ancient times and of the middle ages can fail to be struck with the sanguinary and destructive nature of the contests which then took place between opposing armies. This could not be otherwise when the hostile encounter was to be maintained man to man, with lance and pike, sword and battle-axe. Individual force, dexterity, and prowess decided the battle; but not till the field was strewed with the bodies of immense numbers of the combatants. But modern nations decide their disputes with the cannon and the musket; the soldier, having no longer his adversary hand to hand, leaves it to chance to decide whether his ball shall bring an enemy to the earth or waste its strength in air. War has become almost an exact science; the soldier has degenerated into a machine, employed by the calculations of his officer; and the fate of a battle depends upon the genius and judgment of the generals. Under the old system, a man encased in armour, and mounted on a mailed steed, was superior to a whole troop of common soldiers, who marched on foot and were badly armed; but this new system of war, under which the most craven-hearted retainer may with his firelock bring down the bravest leader at a distance, has sapped the foundations of chivalry, and gradually annihilated it. For a long time the nobility contended against the use of weapons which they characterized as dishonourable and degrading; but these weapons finally came into general use, and the man at arms was compelled to own the superiority of the engineer, in deciding the destiny of kings and nations. The battle-axe and the lance, the ponderous helmet and the heavy iron cuirass, are now laid aside, and modern warriors look on them with wonder, as they read how the knights of old bore them as readily as their own limbs, supporting the weight with ease while they governed their horses, aimed the unerring arrow, or wielded the sword and the shield.

About the commencement of the period of transition, while those who bore firearms formed but a small part of the troops, and mailed cavalry still composed the strength of the army, Louis XI. ascended the throne of France. Of this prince it has been said that "every day he would suddenly strike out many singularities. Strange to say, with all his drivelling and petty scrupulosity of devotion, the instinct of novelty was quick within him. The restlessness of the modern spirit was already his, inspiring his fearful order to go on, (where? no matter,) to be ever going on, trampling all under his feet, walking, if need be, over the bones of his father." He was the real founder of the policy since erroneously attributed to Machiavel. His character is one of the most complicated in history. At the expense of his peace and his reputation, his policy attained the end which he proposed, the union of the interior force of France and the elevation of her power to a height formidable to the rest of Europe. His whole life was a mixture of contradictions and crimes. He possessed

almost absolute power, and was withal undignified; by humbling the great he became popular, yet possessed no generosity; zealous for the administration of justice, he was systematically unjust; he lived in open violation of morality, yet was an abject slave to superstition; he tyrannized over his subjects, and resigned himself wholly to his physicians: in short, his whole life was devoted to strengthening the monarchy and rendering royalty disgraceful. Such was the prince with whose accession we commence our narrative of the history of modern times.



LOUIS XI.

So great was his anxiety to reign that he revolted before the death of his father. Charles marched against him, and as he drew near to Lyons, Louis was deserted by his professed friends. Louis himself gives us to know that it was not the will to resist that was wanting, for he writes, "If God or fortune had granted me half the number of men at arms the king my father has, his

army should not have had the trouble of coming; I would have marched from Lyons to give it battle." An ambuscade was laid for him by his enemies; but he sent all his officers to hunt in one direction, while he himself escaped by another to the court of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, who was at enmity with his father, and who protected him. While there, he was ever engaged in study, was humble and quiet, observing every thing, and noting carefully the weaknesses of the ducal house. Already had he formed the plan of his life. Immediately after the death of his father secured to him the throne, he found himself isolated. He pardoned his former enemies; but failed to secure their friendship; he could place no dependence on his friends. The great were his natural enemies; his humbler subjects would become so, as soon as he attempted to exact money from them. The counsellors of the Duke of Burgundy supposed that in crowning their young king, they were giving themselves authority over a kingdom. They were soon taught their mistake. The aged Philip escorted the king to Rheims, where the coronation was to take place, at the head of an immense army of followers. The entry of the sovereign into that city seemed like a triumph of his vassal. Louis, who hated all pomp, was conspicuous for his humility alone. The duke appeared like an emperor, superbly mounted, and towering above the host of his pages and archers on foot; the king, sorry alike in person and in dress, went first, as if to announce the coming of the duke, and seemed to form part of the ceremony only to set off by contrast its pomp of pride. Large and powerful draught horses, with silver bells loudly jingling at their necks, and adorned with velvet housings, embroidered with the duke's arms, led the procession; and his



LOUIS XI. ENTERING RHEIMS.

banners floated over a hundred and forty magnificent wagons bearing gold and silver plate, money to scatter among the populace, and wine to be drunk at the banquet. The Burgundian nobles were hardly visible, buried as they were, men and horses, in their rich velvet and jewels. The duke took the first place at the coronation, and officiated throughout the ceremony. Louis appeared as a man of another world, putting on an appearance of extreme humility, penitence, and self-denying devotion. But at the moment when the proud Philip placed the crown on the head of the humble Louis, France had a king, who knew neither Burgundy nor Brittany, neither friend nor enemy, in the pursuit of his favourite objects. He was then ready to jeopardize the king for the aggrandizement of the kingdom, to play a game in which the stake should be the sacrifice of royalty or the diminution of the power of the nobility. Subtle, deceitful, unfeeling, and cruel himself, he dismissed all the high-minded ministers of his father, and surrounded himself with advisers of a character like his own, men drawn from the lowest ranks.

Louis almost immediately disclosed his intention of reducing the power of the nobles, who as speedily entered into an association and took arms to humble their oppressor. The count of Charolais, Charles the Bold, took part in this league, contrary to the wishes of his father. The death of Philip the Good, however, made him Duke of Burgundy, and his attention was required in that duchy. Ever since the time when Philip the Hardy, duke of Burgundy,



JOHN THE FEARLESS, DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

administered the affairs of France as regent for Charles VI., his house had been looked upon with an envious eye by the other great crown vassals. When John the Fearless succeeded his father, and began to take measures to secure his power to himself, he found his schemes thwarted by the Queen and the Duke of Orleans. He scrupled not to have the duke assassinated. In consequence, the nobles engaged the dauphin in their plans, and John was invited in the name of that prince to a conference at the bridge of Montereau on public business. He went almost unarmed, and was butchered in the saloon and at the very feet of the dauphin, by the royal guards, A. D. 1419. In revenge for John's death, his son, Philip the Good, for a long time took part with the English against France. He finally made peace with the French king, Charles VII. He then devoted himself wholly to the improvement of his dominions in the Low Countries, and during the fifty years the affairs of Burgundy were administered by Philip, that state was more wealthy, prosperous, and tranquil than any other in Europe; and if he had but asserted his independence, he would have become more powerful than the King of France himself. His death was greatly lamented by his subjects and neighbours, who feared in the new Duke of Burgundy the rashness, pride, obstinacy, and cruelty which had stained the career of the Count of Charolais. Of all, however, Louis XI. had most cause to fear him, for besides the antipathy which Charles had manifested against Louis, he knew the arch politician better than any man in Europe.

The civil war in France had been ended by a peace, on terms advantageous to the rebels, which the king had not scrupled to grant, but which he never intended to keep. Many whom he had formerly disgraced he now took

into favour; he detached the Dukes of Bourbon and Brittany from the confederacy, and got an assembly of the states to declare those articles of the treaty void which were detrimental to his interests. Louis and Charles both assembled their forces, and a bloody war was expected, when Louis, who would never fight if he could negotiate, agreed to pay the duke thirty-six thousand crowns to defray his military expenses, and appointed an interview with him at Peronne in Picardy, which Charles possessed. His proposal was accepted, and he went thither with but a few domestics, hoping by a show of confidence to throw the duke off his guard, and take advantage of the friendly feelings which he should inspire. At the same time, as a means of forwarding his negotiations, he sent emissaries to Liege, to persuade the inhabitants of that city to revolt from the duke. He himself, however, had nearly perished by the snare thus artfully laid. The duke at first indeed received him with marks of respect, but easily saw his connection with the rebellion of the people of Liege, shut him up in the castle of Peronne, posted double guards at the gates, and made him feel that he was a prisoner, and at the mercy of his vassal. He recovered his liberty only on condition that he should march against Liege, and be active in the reduction of a place that had revolted at his own request. Liege was reduced, and Louis was suffered to depart; the duke then set fire to the town, and massacred the inhabitants. This affair was treated with so much ridicule that all the magpies and jays in Paris were taught to cry "Peronne."

Executions, wars, and negotiations make up the whole of the reign of Louis. By odious measures, he drove noble after noble to rebellion, then defeated their conspiracies and seized their dominions. His brother Charles was removed by poison; the constable de St. Pol, his brother-in-law, the Count of Armagnac, and the Dukes of Alençon and Nemours, all lost their heads on the scaffold. He ignominiously purchased a peace of Edward IV. of England, and was constantly engaged in war or negotiation with Charles of Burgundy, until the death of that prince, who lost his life and immense treasures in an ambitious and unjust attempt upon the liberties of Switzerland. (A. D. 1477.) Louis considered this a most fortunate event, and endeavoured to turn it to the greatest advantage. He seized the larger part of his rival's dominions, in defiance of the right of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles, and wife of Maximilian, duke of Austria and emperor of Germany. Of all the possessions of the Burgundian dukes, Maximilian could only secure possession of Flanders. Louis held firm hold of Burgundy, and thus laid the foundation of the bitter hostility between the sovereigns of France and Austria, which soon after deluged Europe with blood. In 1481, the extinction of the house of Anjou re-annexed the country of Provence to the crown of France, and vested in Louis the claims of that house to the throne of Naples. Louis did not waste his forces on such a distant object; but gave his whole attention to the acquisition of Burgundy.*

* Kohlrausch. Russell. Taylor.

His successor, Charles VIII., however, embarked with improvident precipitancy in a contest for the throne of Naples. In 1494, he crossed the Alps, and in a short time compelled Rome, Florence, and Naples to submission. Frederic II., the king of Naples, fled from his country and took refuge in Ischia. As soon, however, as the Italians had recovered from their first alarm, they banded together, friends and foes, against the French. The Emperor, the Pope, and the King of Aragon, Ferdinand the Catholic, promised their aid, and Charles was forced to abandon his conquest as quickly as he had made it. From the decisive effect of this confederacy, the sovereigns of Europe learned a useful lesson of policy, and first adopted the idea of preserving a balance of power by that tacit league, which is understood to be always subsisting, for the prevention of the inordinate aggrandizement of any particular state.

Before Charles VIII. could complete his arrangements for a second invasion of Italy, he died, (A. D. 1498,) and was succeeded on the throne of France by the Duke of Orleans, Louis XII., who, in addition to his claim on Naples, inherited from his grandmother a title to the duchy of Milan. The character of Louis suffered a remarkable change on his accession to the throne. He had previously been distinguished as a bold soldier, a keen hunter, and a chivalrous combatant in the tournaments. At Chateau-neuf, there is still shown a ditch, fifteen feet wide, which is called the "king's leap," because on one occasion he jumped over it for amusement. Such was the violence of his disposition when a child, that, whenever it was necessary that he should be chastised, his mother masked the servant appointed to inflict the punishment, to save him from the future ferocious vengeance of the young offender. All this malevolence, however, vanished, when, at the age of thirty-seven, he ascended the throne. Although many affronts had been given him, the first resolution which he announced was, that "the King of France would not revenge the injuries of the Duke of Orleans." His moderation and good policy obtained for him the hearts of his subjects; and he soon began to turn his attention towards Italy. Before undertaking such an extensive conquest, Louis thought it necessary to strengthen himself by forming alliances with the states which might aid or retard him in its prosecution. He secured the Pope, Alexander VI., to his side, by giving to his natural son, Cæsar Borgia, the duchy of Valence. The Venetians were secured by the promise of Cremona, and the country between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Po, if they assisted him against Sforza, duke of Milan.

Thus strengthened, Louis found little difficulty in overrunning Italy. He crossed the Alps, and in a few days was master of Milan and Genoa. Sforza became his prisoner, and was held in captivity until his death. Afraid of the power of Ferdinand of Aragon, he agreed to divide with him the conquests which he should make in a war against Naples, and the Pope, Alexander VI., sanctioned the scheme. But this arrangement could not continue. Alexander and Ferdinand thought that it would be better to keep Italy for themselves, and they therefore united their forces and deprived Louis of his share of the kingdom of Naples.

The page of history is stained with the horrid crimes of Pope Alexander

VI. and his natural son, Cæsar Borgia ; everywhere we meet with the details of their murders, robberies, profanations, and incests. Alexander was succeeded by Julius II., who took advantage of circumstances to effect the ruin of Borgia. That prince threw himself upon the generosity of Ferdinand, who treacherously imprisoned him. He escaped, however, to the King of Navarre, and ended his days on the battle-field in the service of that monarch.

Anxious to recover that part of his dominions which had been seized by Venice, Julius organized a powerful confederacy against that republic. He, forming the head of the confederacy, was assisted by Louis, Maximilian, and Ferdinand. The united forces of these four great powers soon humbled the pride of Venice, and the total ruin of their army at Agnadel, (A. D. 1509,) left them wholly without defence. Julius regained his towns in Romania ; the Marquis of Mantua seized Asola and Lonato ; the Duke of Ferrara, Le Polesin de Rovigo, a great domain between the Tanaro and the Adige, of which he had long before been deprived by the Venetians. Maximilian seized upon Frioul and Istria ; the Venetian garrison was driven out of Trent ; Louis took possession of all the cities of ancient Venetia ; and Ferdinand annexed all their seaports in Apulia to his kingdom of Naples. At this moment, however, the mutual jealousies of Louis and Maximilian dissolved the confederacy, and Venice, making some timely concessions to the Pope and Ferdinand, soon began to recover her supremacy. She even induced Julius to unite with her in a design of expelling all foreigners from Italy. This design was the more acceptable to the Pope, as he was beginning to entertain many suspicions of the valour and ambition of his former allies, the French.

A confederacy stronger than any that had hitherto existed was formed against the French. Henry VIII., who had just ascended the throne of England, was engaged to divert the attention of Louis, by an invasion of his dominions on the side of England, while the Pope succeeded in again winning the Swiss to his standard. Louis XII., with one great general, Gaston de Foix, duke de Nemours, resisted all the efforts of this formidable league with undaunted firmness. The battle of Ravenna, won by the French in 1512, was hailed by many as an auspicious omen ; but when Louis heard of it, and of the death of Gaston, who fell there covered with wounds, he mournfully answered those who came to congratulate him on the victory, "I wish my enemies such triumphs." He knew the worth of his general. From that time success for several campaigns wavered between the two parties, and the war was carried on in Italy, in Picardy, and on the frontiers of Spain, with alternate success. Florence and Navarre, the allies of Louis, had been conquered, the one by the Medicis and the other by Spain ; and Louis, now left alone to stem the torrent of almost universal war, would no doubt have been reduced to the greatest distress, had not the death of Julius II., and the election of his successor Leo X. to the pontificate, given him some respite. Venice, too, dreading the growing power of the church, deserted the league, and soon Leo made peace with France. His example was followed by Germany, Spain, and England, and at the end of the war, of all the conquests of the French in Italy



HENRY VIII.

nothing remained but the fortress of Milan and a few inconsiderable towns which were dependent upon it.*

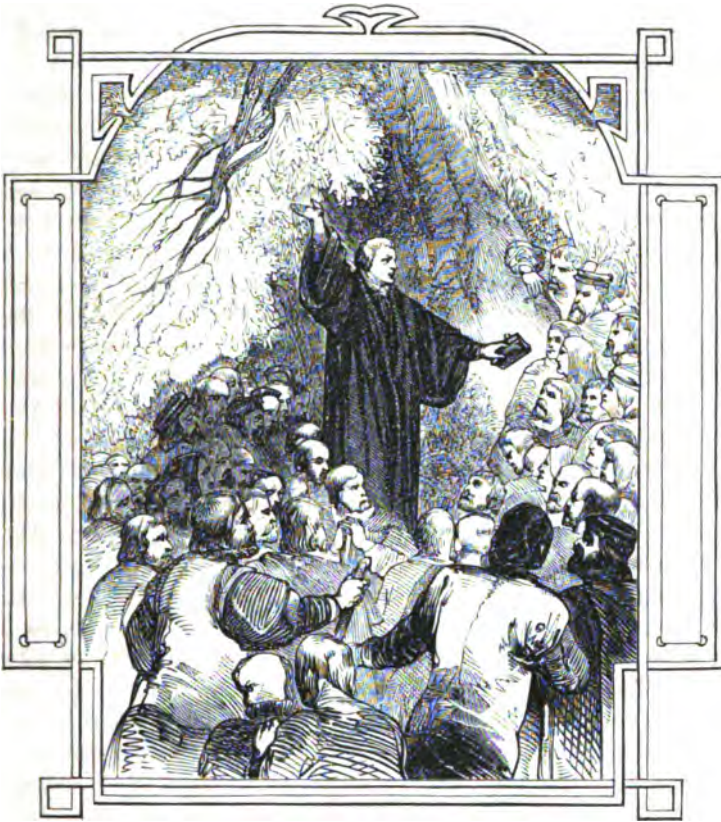
Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, and heir to the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, of Naples and Sicily, and of the New World, married Philip the Handsome, son of Maximilian of Austria, and Mary of Burgundy. The fruit of this union was two sons, Charles and Ferdinand; and the elder of these at the age of sixteen inherited from his father, (A. D. 1516,) the kingdom of the Netherlands, and from his mother Spain and its colonies. The death of his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian, left him in possession of Austria and the other domains of the house of Hapsburg, and the electors chose him to fill the vacant throne of the German empire. In this manner Charles, the fifth of the empire and the first of Spain, came to the possession of greater power than any sovereign of Europe since the days of Charlemagne. The first act of Charles, on his accession to the empire, was to convoke a diet for the purpose of checking the progress of the new opinions which were daily gaining ground in Germany, and which threatened to overturn the religion of the state. These were the opinions which had been propagated by Luther

* Taylor's Manual of Modern History. Pictorial History of France.

and his followers, since the year 1517; and as they led to one of the greatest revolutions that has ever happened in the history of the world, it will not be amiss to consider their origin and progress.

We have seen the power of the Popes sensibly declining; and now, upon the accession of some able men to the pontifical throne, the claim of the church to temporal power was renewed. This claim was resisted by several men of learning; and the repugnance, already manifested by the mass of the people to the grasping policy of the church, was greatly increased by the schism which took place at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The scandal and inconsistency of two or three Popes reigning at the same time, each of whom claimed infallibility, excommunicated the others, and then called in the aid of the laity, led men to exercise the right of private judgment, and to examine with more unscrupulous eyes the abuses which had produced such evil fruits. The proceedings of the Councils of Constance and Basil served only to increase the disrespect which had already begun to manifest itself towards the Roman See. Their ineffectual attempts at reformation only made the evils more prominent, and their deposition of rival pontiffs taught men that there was a power, hitherto unknown, superior to that of the Pope. In this crisis, the disgust of the educated people was increased by the profligacy, cruelty, and tyranny of Alexander VI., and the ambition and injustice of his successor, Julius II. Nor were these vices confined to the papacy. The licentious lives of the priests in Italy and Germany, the facility with which they obtained pardon for the greatest crimes, their immense wealth, and their continual encroachments on the rights of the laity, had given just offence; and the contests of the sovereigns of France and Germany with the Popes had led their subjects to ridicule papal pretensions, and to assail with boldness papal vices.

In this state of things, a dispute, trivial in its origin, kindled a flame which soon spread over all Europe, destroying in its course the strongholds of tyranny and superstition. When Leo X. ascended the papal chair, he found that the treasury of the church had been exhausted by the ambitious projects of his predecessors, Alexander VI. and Julius II. Liberal in his temper, enterprising in his habits, eager for the aggrandizement of the Medicean family, loving splendour, pleasure, and magnificence, and desiring to reward men of genius wherever they could be found, it was impossible for him to practise the economy necessary to recruit the finances, and he consequently made use of every device to raise money for the splendid designs which he contemplated and carried on, which his ingenuity could suggest. Among these devices, he had recourse to an extensive sale of indulgences, a means by which the coffers of the church had often before this been filled. By means of these, a person who had committed any crime was forgiven, and absolved from the sin and its consequences, on his paying to the use of the church a certain sum of money. The right of promulgating these indulgences in Germany was granted to the Dominican friars, who executed their commission with so little regard to discretion or decency, and described the merits of the indulgences in such a blasphemous



MARTIN LUTHER PREACHING.

style of exaggeration, that all men of sense became disgusted, and even the ignorant began to call in question the efficacy of indulgences dispensed with such freedom by men whose profligacy was notorious. The princes and nobles of Germany were irritated at seeing their vassals drained of so much wealth in order to replenish the treasury and support the lavish expenditures of a profuse pontiff, and many of the higher ranks of the clergy viewed with jealousy the favour and power thus given to the Dominican monks.

At this juncture, when the minds of his countrymen were disposed to listen to his discourses, Martin Luther first began to call in question the efficacy of indulgences, and to declaim against the vicious lives and practices of those who had been appointed to sell them. He convinced himself that the Bible afforded no countenance to such a practice, and then, having vainly sought to procure its suppression from the Archbishop of Magdeburgh, he appealed to the consciences of men of letters, by publishing ninety-five theses, condemning the sale of indulgences as contrary to reason and Scripture, and calling upon the learned to examine and discuss the subject. The interest

which was felt in his doctrines extended itself from the cities into the country round. The people started as from a dream, when they heard the tenets of the bold friar. Ignorant and neglected by all above them, the common people had learned to despise themselves; but Luther offered himself as their great teacher; offered to submit his own cause to their arbitration. They had long been struggling for civil freedom without success, and they had remained patient slaves to the priesthood; they now heard with admiration the doctrines of the reformer, and called their neighbours to join them before their huts in raising the shout of Christian liberty. From abroad also, many echoes responded to the summons of Luther. Zuinglius advocated his opinions in Switzerland, and the reform engaged the attention of the most enlightened men of letters; among others, the celebrated Erasmus pointed out many errors in the Romish church, though he had not the courage openly to separate himself from it. The Dominican party also accepted Luther's challenge, fully believing that the slightest exertion of their great power would at once stifle his opposition. Leo, too indolent to examine the state of the public mind, and too proud to trouble himself much about the opposition of a simple friar, published a bull, condemning the theses of Luther as heretical and impious, and excommunicating him as an obstinate heretic. (A. D. 1520.)

The daring reformer, far from being intimidated, appealed to a general council, declared open war against the papacy, and having collected from the canon law some of the most extravagant propositions relating to the omnipotence and plénitude of the papal power, as well as the subordination of all secular authority to that of the Holy See, he published them with a commentary, showing their impiety and their evident tendency to the subversion of all civil government. He then assembled all the professors and students in the University of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators, thus publicly burned the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication. From this time, princes and sovereigns warmly espoused the cause of Luther, a cause which placed at their disposal the enormous wealth of the clergy, and gave them the mastery over more riches than could be obtained by the most sanguinary wars. With such remarkable rapidity did the doctrines of the Reformation spread, that Luther soon counted princes and entire nations among his disciples.

John Calvin, another reformer, was a follower of Zuinglius; he was a native of Noyon in Picardy, and afterwards a teacher at Geneva. He first began to publish his opinions at Paris in 1532, but being driven thence by persecution, he retired to Strasburg, where his talents as a writer and preacher rendered him so eminent, that the followers of Zuinglius adopted his name and were called Calvinists.

In 1529, the diet called by the emperor at Spire, attempted to check the rapid progress of the new doctrines, by issuing a decree forbidding any innovation until the meeting of a general council. The followers of Luther protested against this decree, and have since that, from this circumstance, been called by the general name of Protestants. Soon afterwards they delivered to the



BATTLE OF MARIANO.

emperor at Augsburg a confession of faith, by which their professions acquired a definite form, and the union which was formed by the princes of their party at Smalkalde gave them political importance.

Protestantism now spread with such astonishing rapidity, that in a very short time Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, Livonia, and half of Germany adopted the views of Luther, as set forth in the Confession of Augsburg; and England, Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland embraced the tenets of Zuinglius and his pupil Calvin; while great efforts were made to establish the same doctrines in France, Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia.

The Romish church, now seriously alarmed, adopted means to end the controversy, which only widened the breach and made the evil greater. It was proposed to refer the whole matter to a general council, which, after much delay, was finally convened at Trent, A. D. 1545. After a session of eighteen years, (with some few interruptions,) it, in 1563, finally published its decrees and was dissolved. The decrees, however, were instantly rejected by the Protestants; and as they contained doctrines calculated to destroy the lawful authority of sovereigns and subvert the independence of national churches, they were also rejected by many Catholic princes.*

On his accession to the empire, Charles had resigned the paternal inheritance in Germany to his brother Ferdinand, who, marrying Anne, sister of Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, soon added both these kingdoms to the dominions of the house of Austria. Ferdinand, on the death of his brother Charles, succeeded him in the empire, and became the founder of the Austrian line of emperors, which continued without interruption till 1740, when it ended with Charles VI. Charles likewise was the founder of a royal house; from him descended the Austrian line of Spanish kings which ended with the death of Charles II., A. D. 1700. By his marriage with the daughter of the King of Portugal, Charles paved the way for the annexation of that country to his kingdom of Spain.

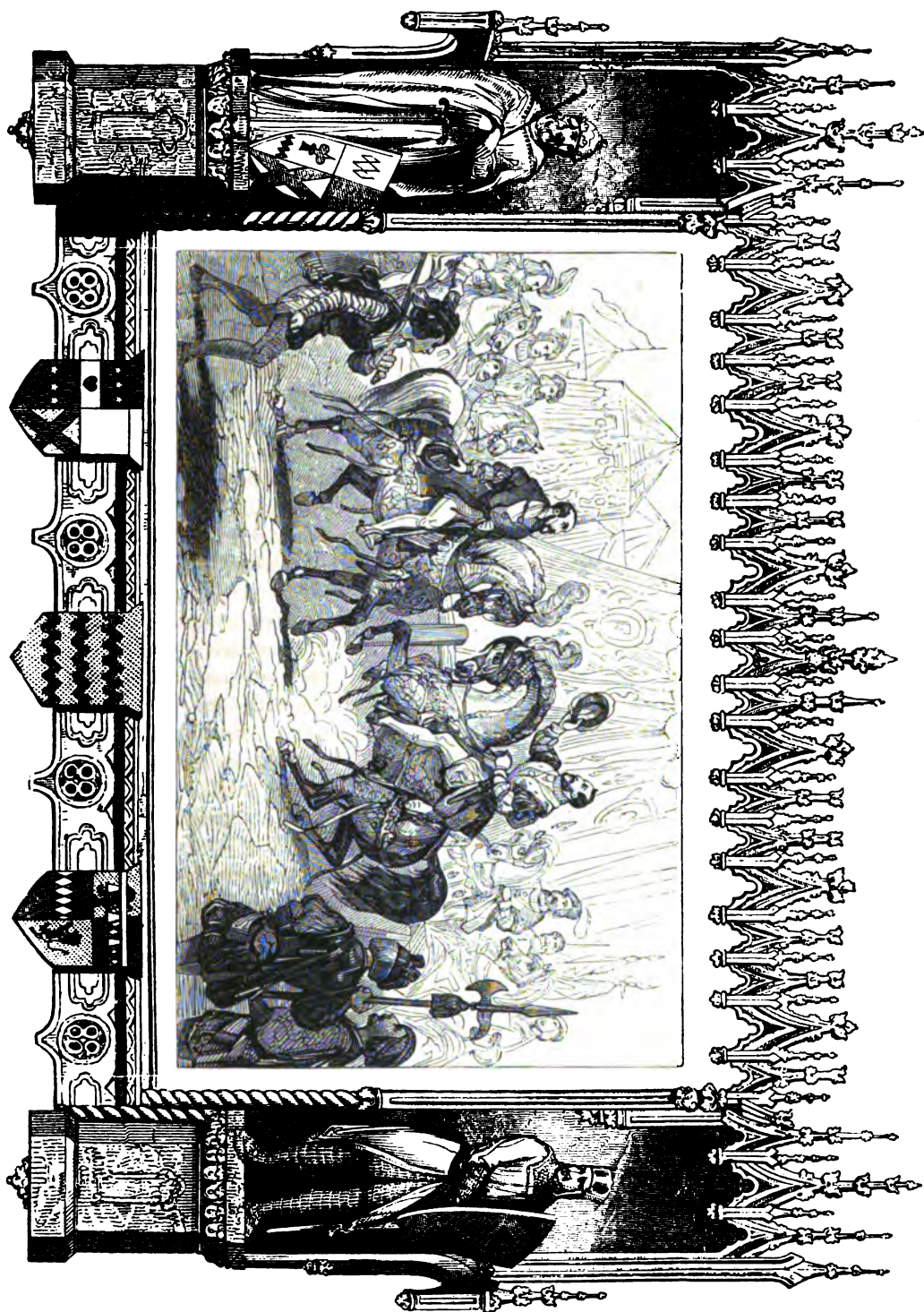
The increasing strength of these two houses of Austria, which long acted in concert, soon began to endanger the balance of power, and to excite the distrust and jealousy of the sovereign of France. Francis I. was a prince of a bold, enterprising, and courageous character; but he did not always regulate his actions by prudence, and his chivalric rashness and an undefined sense of honour often lost that to him which his valour had won. Immediately on his accession to the throne, he determined to recover Milan, and he soon invaded Lombardy with a powerful army. He was met at Marignano by the imperialists and Swiss under the command of Sforza, the Duke of Milan. The battle continued two days, when the Swiss retired in good order, and Francis remained master of Milan. An alliance and treaty were concluded with the defeated duke, with the Venetians, the Swiss, and Pope Leo X., which seemed to secure inalienably to France the duchy of Milan. (1516.) About the same time Francis concluded a treaty with Charles, who had not yet succeeded to the

* Taylor. Robertson. D'Aubigné. Von Müller.

empire. When he was elected, however, the French king soon saw the necessity of putting a curb to the growing greatness of the new emperor.

Another monarch, contemporary with Charles and Francis, was also bound by his interest to check the preponderance of the house of Austria. This was Henry VIII. of England. After the victory of Bosworth field had given Henry VII. complete possession of the throne, he laboured diligently to extend the royal authority and increase the commercial prosperity of his kingdom; and, on his death in 1509, he left his son in possession of an overflowing treasury, of immense resources, and of power sufficient to turn the scale in favour of France or of Spain, as he lent his aid to one or the other. Unfortunately for him, the celebrated Wolsey now made his appearance, and by his pride, flattery, and ambition, perverted the talents of his sovereign, so that he soon spent in tournaments and banquets the money left him by his father. Led by his crafty minister, he allowed free scope to his passions; and his actions, instead of being the result of enlightened policy, were dictated by vanity, resentment, or caprice. The welfare of England, as well as his own honour, was sacrificed to the vanity and inordinate ambition of the royal favourite.

Both these monarchs were candidates with Charles for the imperial dignity, and when the election was made known, the hostile claims of Charles and Francis to Milan, Naples, Navarre, and Burgundy, added to the mortification of the French king at the preference shown to his rival, soon brought on a war. Though Charles had such extensive possessions, yet the domestic constitutions, the intestine troubles of his various kingdoms, and the embarrassed condition of his finances, made it extremely difficult for him to provide for the payment of his troops, most of them being necessarily mercenaries. On the other hand the authority of Francis was almost despotic, his power concentrated, his treasury full, and his soldiers his own subjects. Both monarchs sought to strengthen themselves by alliances. Francis gained the Swiss, the Genoese, and the Venetians; Charles, the Pope. As Henry VIII. was the third prince of the age in power and dignity, each of the rivals eagerly sought to attach him to himself. Francis was well acquainted with the characters of both Henry and his minister Wolsey. He knew that the king was actuated almost solely by vanity and resentment; that the minister was equally rapacious and profuse, ostentatious, greedy of adulation, and stimulated by boundless ambition. He had already successfully flattered Wolsey with marks of confidence and a pension; and he now solicited a personal interview with Henry near Calais, hoping to be able, by familiar conversation, to attach him to his friendship and interest, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs. But Charles was equally politic with his rival. He knew that he could not prevent this meeting, but he resolved to anticipate it, and he therefore landed at Dover on his way from Spain to the Low Countries. Henry, charmed with this display of confidence, hastened to meet him. He stayed but a little while, yet he managed to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, and to detach Wolsey from



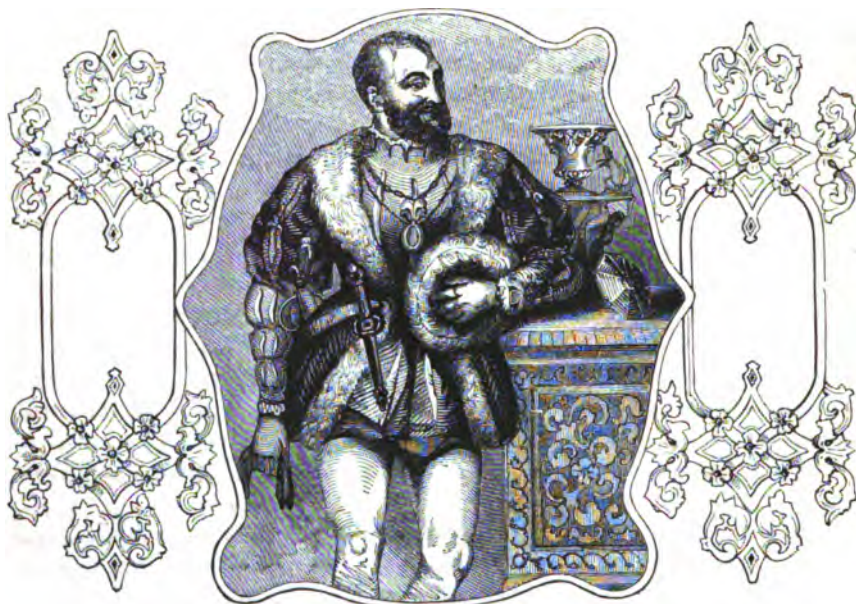
the interests of Francis by promising him his support on the occurrence of a vacancy in the papacy.

On the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with his whole court, in order to meet Francis. Their interview was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, that the meeting was called the interview of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Here Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, prepared beforehand in London, on which, under the figure of an English archer, was inscribed the motto, "He prevails whom I favour," alluding to his position as holding the balance of power. During the eighteen days that the two courts were together, feats of chivalry and parties of gallantry, rather than serious business, occupied their attention. After leaving this scene of dissipation, Henry paid a visit to the Emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, whence they accompanied him to Calais. Here Charles completed the favourable impression he had begun to make on Henry and his minister, and effaced all the friendship which Francis had endeavoured to excite.

The war broke out about the same time in Navarre, the Netherlands, and Italy. Francis, having invaded and taken possession of Navarre, advanced into Spain, where he was defeated, and driven back into his own country, with the loss of his conquest. In Italy, the Milanese, disgusted with the insolence and exactions of the French troops, arose in arms, and putting themselves under the command of Francis Sforza, brother of the late duke, made an attack on their oppressors. The treachery of the mother of Francis, who withheld from Lautrec, the French commander in Italy, the money necessary to pay his troops, led to the loss of Milan and the greater part of the duchy. An effort made to recover the city led to the battle of Bicocca, (A. D. 1522,) in which the French were totally defeated and forced to abandon nearly the whole of their possessions in Italy. Genoa was now compelled to submit. It is said that joy at these successes caused the death of Leo, who died in the same year, and was succeeded by Adrian VI., a devoted adherent of Charles. He brought over the Florentines and Venetians to the side of Charles, and Francis was left without an ally in Italy.*

The Emperor and Henry VIII. then invaded France on three sides at the same time; but their forces were everywhere repelled; and Francis, encouraged by this partial success, again attempted the recovery of the Milanese, and would probably have succeeded, had not his mother the queen interfered. Blinded by passion, this woman induced Francis to treat the Constable of Bourbon with such gross injustice that this powerful noble entered into a league with the Emperor, and raised the standard of revolt against his sovereign. This for some time delayed the king's march into Italy. In 1525, entering that country at the head of a numerous army, he was uniformly successful, until he laid siege to Pavia, a strong city, with a numerous garrison

* White. Taylor.



FRANCIS I.

under the command of Leyva, an able officer. Every exertion was now made by the imperial generals, among whom the most active was the Constable of Bourbon, to collect a large army. The inactivity of Francis before the walls of Pavia, and his imprudence in sending a large detachment to invade Naples, left the task apparently easy to them; and accordingly, as early as the 2d of February, they determined to attack the king in his intrenchments. The attack was made; the imperialists were victorious, and Francis was made prisoner, and carried in triumph to Madrid. A treaty was soon concluded, in which the King of the French agreed to surrender Burgundy to the Emperor, and delivered up his two sons as hostages for its performance, (A. D. 1526.) Francis considered this treaty as having been obtained by compulsory means, and, before its ratification, entered a solemn protest against it, and he was no sooner at liberty than he refused to comply with its stipulations.

In this refusal, Francis was supported by the King of England, who began to be alarmed at the increasing power of Charles, and by Pope Clement VII., who absolved the king from the obligations of the treaty of Madrid. Besides, the states of Burgundy protested against the surrender of their province; and consequently, an alliance was formed, called the Holy League, between the Pope, France, England, Switzerland, Florence and Milan, to compel the Emperor to give up the sons of the French monarch, and to restore the duchy of Milan to Sforza. The operations of this league were but slow and feeble; and while the different states of which it was composed were raising armies and preparing

for war, the Constable of Bourbon, who commanded the imperial forces in Italy, irritated by the vacillating conduct of the Pope, marched against Rome; and the "eternal city" was taken by assault and plundered by the soldiers of a Catholic monarch. (1527.) Bourbon fell in the assault, and the command devolving on the Prince of Orange, he besieged the Pope in his castle of St. Angelo, and soon compelled him to yield himself prisoner.

On receiving the news of the Pope's captivity, Charles ordered prayers to be offered up in all the churches of his dominions for his delivery, saying that his quarrel was with the temporal sovereign of Rome, and not with the spiritual head of the church. He, however, neglected to send the necessary order for his liberation, and thus excited the indignation of his allies to such an extent that Francis was enabled again to invade Italy and penetrate to the very walls of Naples. Here, however, his prosperity ended. The Pope, released from captivity, made overtures of conciliation to the Emperor; the Venetians were becoming jealous of the power assumed by France, and Andrew Doria, the Genoese admiral, indignant at the slights and wrongs inflicted on himself and his country, revolted to the Emperor and turned the scale of war by making the imperialists superior at sea. Doria first restored the republic of Genoa, and earned for himself the proud title of "the Father of his Country and the Restorer of its Liberties," 1528. The treaty of Cambray, which was negotiated by the Emperor's aunt and the King's mother, was concluded in 1529, and peace was restored between the rival monarchs; Francis resigning all his pretensions to Flanders and Italy. The fair diplomatists, however, left enough unsettled to furnish grounds for a future war.*

Having thus prevailed over Francis, Charles next turned his attention to the internal affairs of Germany, and determined at once to crush the Reformation; but the Protestant princes formed a league for their protection at Smalkald, 1530, and asked the aid of the Kings of France and England. Henry VIII. was desirous of obtaining a divorce from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, the Emperor's aunt, and attributing the reluctance of the Pope to grant him a divorce to the intrigues of Charles, he entered into the league against him with eagerness. Hostilities, however, were prevented, and Charles was obliged to adopt a temporizing policy towards the reformers, in consequence of the progress of the Turks on the frontiers of his empire. It required the concentration of the whole of his disposable force in Hungary, and he was glad to purchase internal peace at the price of some important concessions. Satisfied that he could not refuse to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion without a war of extermination, he concluded to refer the matter to a general council, which he urged the Pope to convoke as soon as possible. The council, however, did not meet till 1545. Besides, Charles, who began to despair of universal monarchy, was anxious to have his brother Ferdinand chosen as his successor, with the title of King of the Romans, and he knew that it would be impossible to accomplish this end without the assistance of the Protestant

* Taylor. White. Robertson.



ANNA BOLEYN.

princes. The hereditary estates of Austria had been given to Ferdinand when his brother was chosen emperor ; he had since acquired by marriage the kingdom of Bohemia, and on the death of Louis II., King of Hungary, that country also fell to him. Ferdinand thus wielding three sceptres, and having under his authority the whole of southern Germany, was, at the time of his nomination to the imperial succession, one of the most powerful princes in Europe.

Francis, having only concluded the peace of Cambray because he was unable to maintain war, sought the earliest opportunity of renewing hostilities, and secured the friendship of Clement VII. by uniting his son, the Duke of Orleans, to Catherine de Medicis, the Pope's niece. He by this act, however, lost the friendship of the King of England, for Henry VIII., inflamed by love for Anna Boleyn, and enraged by the Pope's refusal to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, no longer kept any terms with the court of Rome, or any of her allies. The parliament of England supported their sovereign, and passed an act in 1534, abolishing the papal power and authority in England ; and shortly after, another, by which the King of England was declared supreme head of the English church, and was invested with all the authority which was before exercised by the popes. The Protestant princes of Germany also viewed Francis with suspicion, because he persecuted the reformers in his kingdom. The friendship of the Pope was of no advantage to Francis, for

that dignitary dying in 1534, he was succeeded by Paul III., a friend to the Emperor; and Francis, thus deprived of his allies, was also deprived of the power of disturbing the peace of Europe for some time.

In the mean time, Charles, having repelled the Turks from Hungary, returned to Spain, and in 1535 sailed with a large army for Tunis, where Barbarossa, the dread of all Christians, had fortified himself. There he was completely successful, and he returned to Spain crowned with glory. During his absence, the Anabaptists, a fanatical sect which had arisen in Germany, had seized on the city of Munster, and held it for a time against the troops of the bishop. They were finally overcome, their sect suppressed, and their leaders executed. It was at this moment (1536) that Francis again revived his Italian claims, and with a large army overrun Savoy. Charles, unable to meet Francis in the field, challenged him to single combat; but that wily monarch, affecting to treat his rival as his vassal, refused to fight his inferior, and summoned him, as Count of Flanders, to appear before the Parliament of Paris; and on his refusal, he was declared to have forfeited his title to the Low Countries to his feudal superior. Charles was in the mean time increasing his army, which had been disbanded on his return from Africa. He soon succeeded in driving the French from Italy, and was then proceeding to invade France, when the Pope, alarmed by the ravages of the Turks in Hungary and Southern Italy, interfered, and prevailed on the belligerents to conclude a truce for ten years. (A. D. 1538.)

Notwithstanding the religious disputes in Germany, the unwillingness of the Pope to call a general council, the revolt of the Flemings, and the success of the Turks in Hungary, Charles, in 1541, contrary to the advice of Andrew Doria, undertook another expedition to Africa. This expedition sailed for Algiers, where he landed and commenced operations against the city. A furious storm arose and shattered his fleet, a pestilential disease spread death among his soldiers, and the destruction of his stores of provisions menaced the remainder with famine. In this condition, overwhelmed with loss and disgrace, he was forced to re-embark and return to Europe, his followers dispirited, while the courage of his enemies was raised so high that they immediately began to seek an excuse for a new quarrel. This pretext was not long wanting. The imperial governor of Milan, in direct violation of the law of nations, seized upon two ambassadors who were on their way from the French to the Turkish court, and put them to death. Charles refusing to call the murderers to account, Francis declared the truce at an end, and immediately invaded the Netherlands. (A. D. 1542.)

The Emperor now found an ally in the King of England. The principal source of enmity between Charles and Henry had been removed by the death of Catherine; and the close alliance between the French and Scotch excited the jealousy of the English. Henry, having, with the impetuosity for which he is distinguished, introduced the Reformation into England, then became anxious that his nephew, the King of Scotland, should follow his example, and renounce the authority of the Pope. In order to induce him the more readily to adopt

his views, Henry made him the most advantageous offers; but the influence of the Scottish clergy and the offers of France prevailing over those of the English monarch, Henry, in great fury, proclaimed war against James. In the midst of these troubles an event occurred which completely changed Henry's plans. This was the death of James V. and the accession of his infant daughter, Mary, the celebrated Queen of Scots. The idea which now took complete possession of the mind of Henry was that of the union of the two kingdoms, by uniting his son Edward and the young queen Mary. That, however, could only be accomplished by the ruin of the French interest in Scotland, and Henry gladly and readily joined in the league against Francis.

The French monarch, on the other hand, was allied with Denmark and Sweden, and his union with the Turkish sultan was drawn closer. An active war immediately commenced. The sultan, in person, invaded Hungary, while his admiral, Barbarossa, joined the French in their invasion of Italy. The united forces laid siege to Nice, and for the first time the world was astonished by the sight of Christians and Mohammedans united in one army, and making war against another body of the professed followers of the Prince of Peace. Francis had not even the consolation of success, in return for the disgrace of leaguings with the deadly enemies of all Christian knights; for he was compelled to raise the siege and retire. The war was carried on with various success, in Italy, France, Spain, and the Low Countries, for two years; but the only important engagement was that fought at Cerisoles, (A. D. 1544,) in which ten thousand imperialists were slain, and the arms of Francis obtained a useless victory. This however did not prevent the contemporary invasion of France by the Emperor and Henry VIII., the former on the side of Lorraine, and the latter through Calais. These two monarchs, however, did not act in concert, and Francis took the first opportunity of concluding a separate peace with Charles at Cressy, (A. D. 1544,) by which they agreed to restore all the conquests which they had respectively made during the war, to unite against the Turks, and to suppress every species of reform in their dominions. Henry continued the war for some time longer, but without producing any event of consequence, and he finally subscribed to the treaty of Cressy. The principal motive of Charles for this abrupt conclusion of the war, was his desire to humble the Protestant princes. The death of his two powerful contemporaries, Francis and Henry, in the same year, (A. D. 1547,) left him at liberty to pursue this object unmolested.

No prince had ever ascended the throne of England with more advantages than Henry VIII. We have seen how his power was respected by the great rivals of the continent, and his condition was no less happy as to the internal state of his kingdom. His title was not disputed; his treasury was full; his subjects in profound peace, and the vigour and comeliness of his person, his polished manners, and his manly dexterity, rendered his accession popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character respectable. Every thing seemed to prognosticate a happy and prosperous reign, yet the death of no prince was ever less lamented than that of



DEATH OF LEONARDO DA VINCI.

Henry. He ruled the people with a rod of iron, and drenched the scaffold with the best blood in the kingdom. Though a monster in private life, Henry affected a great zeal for religion, and by his tyrannical measures he succeeded in changing not only the national faith, but in a great measure the spirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the most enormous outrages against the first men in the kingdom; he loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and pillaged them by loans which he never meant to repay. The parliament was the prime-minister of his tyrannical administration. It authorized his oppressive taxes and absolved him from the payment of his debts; it gave its sanction to his most despotic and sanguinary measures, and caused to be executed those measures which even he dared not carry out himself.

Francis was a handsome, talented, and ambitious prince, whose warlike achievements, love of learning, and patronage of commerce and the fine arts, have gained for him the title of the "Father of Letters," and a high place among the heroes of France. He earnestly desired to raise his kingdom to a greater degree of wealth, magnificence, and refinement than she had ever before enjoyed. He built the palace of Fontainebleau, promoted trade, encouraged the arts of industry, and introduced the manufacture of silk into France, by bringing silk weavers from Italy, whom he paid very liberally. He founded colleges for the study of Greek and Latin; and spared neither pains nor expense to advance the art of printing, which was now making rapid progress.

He maintained at his court the famous family of the Stephens, whose renown as the learned printers of Francis I. filled all Europe. But the chief ornament of his court was the Italian painter, Leonardo da Vinci, whose great work, "The Last Supper," has rendered his name immortal. Francis met with Da Vinci at Milan, while celebrations were making for the victory at Marignano. He induced him to leave Italy and come to reside with him in France, and often came to visit him in his study. He tenderly watched by his bedside during his last hours, and his attentions to the dying Florentine form one of the brightest incidents in the character of the great French monarch.

The very form and the first decision of the Council of Trent, which finally met in 1545, rendered it impossible for the Protestants to take any part in it. The peace of Cressy left them unprotected, and the diet of Worms passed such resolutions against them, that they found it necessary to rise in arms for their own protection, under Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. At the very commencement of hostilities, Prince Maurice of Saxony deserted the leaguers and joined the Emperor, who concluded a dishonourable peace with the Sultan Solymán, and formed an alliance with the Pope, who sent him an army of 13,000 men. Thus reinforced, Charles marched in triumph towards Upper Germany, levying contributions in the disaffected districts through which he passed. In a decisive battle, fought at Mühlberg, in 1547, the confederates were completely defeated, and Frederick of Saxony taken prisoner. The elector, who when in prosperity had been too often wanting in resolution and fixedness of purpose, now evinced the most firm and heroic courage. He was told that the Emperor had sentenced him to death; but his countenance showed no signs of emotion at the news, and he calmly and quietly continued a game of chess which he was playing with his fellow-prisoner. This harsh sentence was mitigated at the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg. The castles of Wittenberg and Gotha were surrendered to the Emperor, while the Elector of Saxony himself remained a prisoner during the imperial pleasure. Great indignation, opposition, and confusion arose in Wittenberg when it was known that it was to be delivered up to the Emperor, although in religious worship it was guaranteed the free exercise of the Augsburg Confession. They at first resolved to defend themselves, but the elector commanded them not to make any further resistance, as the Emperor, he assured them, would faithfully keep his promise. Accordingly, the Saxon soldiers evacuated the town, as the imperialists entered it, and an interchange of more peaceful and friendly feelings soon arose between the camp and the city.

On the same day that the Emperor entered Wittenberg, his old rival Francis I. of France was borne to the tomb, and as if fortune had resolved to remove at once from before his path every obstacle to the plans he had formed, he was enabled to treacherously entrap and detain in imprisonment the Landgrave of Hesse, the only remaining leader of the Protestants.

All danger from the Protestants being apparently at an end, the Pope began to be jealous of the success and the power of Charles, and, fearing that the Emperor would use his influence in the council to limit the pontifical



CHARLES V. ENTERING WITTENBERG.

authority, he determined to seek his own private advantage, and to throw every possible obstacle into the path of his ally. Charles, however, thinking that all opposition was at an end, and that his designs on the liberties of Germany might now be carried to any extent, published a code or formula of doctrines, which he called the "Interim," because it was to continue in force only until the meeting of a free general council. This edict was presented to the diet at Augsburg, 1548, with the imperial command to conform to it in every particular. Both Roman Catholics and Protestants declaimed against such a summary mode of settling their disputes, and against the assumption of dictatorial power by the Emperor. As the edict was strictly conformable to the tenets of the Romish church, the Catholics soon acquiesced in the wishes of Charles, and most of the Protestant states were compelled to submit. The free city of Magdeburg alone offered open resistance, and Maurice of Saxony, to whom the dominions of the captive Frederick had been given, and who was appointed to the command of an imperial army, was sent to reduce it.

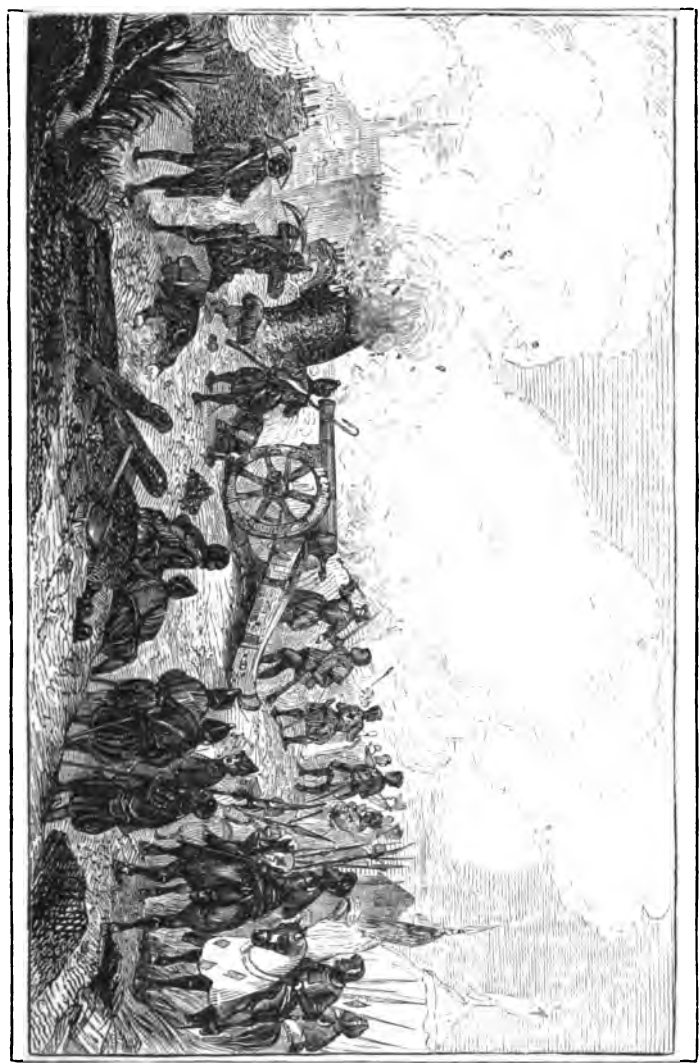
The Landgrave of Hesse was the father-in-law of Prince Maurice, who was not only secretly dissatisfied with the conduct of the Emperor in unjustly detaining him, but was also fully aware of his ambitious designs, and of the consequences to which they might lead in Germany. He accordingly formed

a bold plan for compelling the Emperor to liberate the Landgrave, and to establish religious freedom, but thought it better to conceal his projects until the most favourable moment for putting them in execution. With this ulterior object in view, he proceeded to the siege of Magdeburg, and on the surrender of that place, (A. D. 1551,) he succeeded in winning the confidence of the garrison and citizens, without giving Charles any reason to suspect his fidelity. He next made a treaty with Henry II. of France, the son and successor of Francis, and, secure of support among the Protestant states of Germany, and of the adherence of the Danish king and the northern states of Europe, at last threw off the mask. He published a manifesto, detailing the grievances which he required to be redressed, and took the field at the head of an army of 22,000 men, with the avowed intention of defending the Protestant religion, and restoring the liberties of Germany. He took his course towards the south, and in every place through which he passed he restored the Lutheran magistrates and clergy.

The King of France invaded Germany by the way of Lorraine, styling himself "Protector of the liberties of Germany, and its captive princes." It was in vain that the Emperor sought to gain time by negotiations; for Maurice, whom nothing could turn from his course, advanced with such speed that Charles narrowly escaped being made prisoner at Innsbruck, (where he was then residing,) by a hasty flight in the middle of the night. The Council of Trent was tumultuously broken up; the Protestants took Augsburg, and laid siege to Frankfort on the Maine. Henry II., who was no less bold and enterprising than his father, entered Lorraine and made himself master of Toul, Verdun, and Metz.

Charles was at length forced to submit, and a treaty was signed at Passau, (A. D. 1552,) by which the reformed religion was placed on a secure foundation, and the captive princes liberated. Henry of France, however, still affected to talk of his zeal for the ancient constitution and liberties of the empire; and as no provisions had been made for him in the treaty of Passau, he prepared to defend by force of arms his conquests in Lorraine, which he foresaw the Emperor would endeavour to wrest from him. Charles directed his first efforts against Metz, the defence of which Henry had committed to the gallant Francis of Lorraine, duke of Guise. He collected an army from Italy and Hungary, and, though sick and enfeebled, he followed it in a litter and commanded it at Metz. The Duke of Guise, however, was no ordinary opponent. He infused his own spirit into the garrison. In vain the old Emperor advanced to the very trenches to exhort his soldiers; they could not withstand the sallies of the besieged, in which the highest nobility and the proudest chivalry of France fought as common soldiers under the banners of the Duke of Guise. The winter at length set in; the imperialists encamped in the snow, and great numbers died in their tents. The Emperor had arrived before the walls on the last day of October, 1552; on the tenth of January following he beat a retreat, having in that short time lost not less than forty thousand men. The Duke of Guise and his followers proved themselves as

SEIGE OF MATHZ.



generous as brave. They gave nourishment to their enemies, and carried to the hospital in the town the wounded and sick that were left in the camp.

The principles of mutual toleration which were enjoined by the treaty of Passau, were formally sanctioned by the Diet of Augsburg; which so incensed the Pope, Paul IV., that he became the avowed enemy of the house of Austria, and entered into a close alliance with the King of France. The few years intervening between this treaty and the abdication of Charles V., formed undoubtedly the most disastrous period in his reign. The war with France lasted three years longer, and proved unfavourable to the Emperor, though there were no great battles or interesting events by which it may be distinguished in general history. The imperial arms did not prove more successful in Hungary, where the Turks still made predatory inroads. Italy was in commotion from one extremity to the other; Sienna openly revolted; and the Turkish fleet ravaged the coast of Naples, (A. D. 1555.) Such was the state of his vast empire, when Charles, wearied with the cares of government, broken down by illness, and hopeless of realizing his dream of universal dominion, resolved to abdicate his crowns. Though a prince of moderate abilities, Charles the Fifth, says Taylor,* had reigned with more glory than most European sovereigns. A King of France and a Pope had been his captives; his dominions were more extensive than those of Alexander, or of Rome. By his generals, or his ministers, he had acquired all the objects which usually excite ambition; he had gained even the distinction of being regarded as the champion of orthodoxy, in an age when toleration was a crime. But the triumph of civilization over the system of the middle ages, of which he was at once the last support and the last representative, was certain and complete, and he could not resist the mortification of finding himself vanquished; the peace of Passau was to him "the handwriting on the wall;" it announced that his policy was past and his destiny accomplished. The feebleness of old age overtook him at fifty-six; harassed by vain repinings, overwhelmed by infirmities, he felt that he could no longer appear a hero, and he desired to seem a sage. He became a hermit, removed all his diadems from his head, and sank into voluntary obscurity. He was, however, sure to be regretted, for he bequeathed to the world his successor, the sanguinary Philip, just as Augustus adopted Tiberius.

Though the Diet of Augsburg had secured toleration to the Protestants, yet it did not give them all the advantages which they had a right to expect. Many important questions were left undecided, and the Lutherans, with strange inconsistency, agreed that the Calvinists should not enjoy the benefits of the toleration for which they had fought and bled. The reformers were in some degree victorious, but the power of the Church of Rome was far from being crushed. Several monastic orders were established solely to combat the spirit of innovation introduced by the reformers. The society of Jesuits, one of the most celebrated of these institutions, was founded in Spain by Ignatius Loyola, in 1534, and was sanctioned by the Pope in 1540. Such was the

* Manual of History.



rapidity with which this institution spread throughout Christendom, that, at the death of the founder in 1556, it had diffused itself through most of the countries of Europe, and its missionaries were scattered throughout India, Ethiopia, and South America. The object of this association was to support the highest assumptions of papacy, to oppose freedom of intellect, and to destroy, if possible, the new doctrines which were so rapidly gaining ground. In order to accomplish these purposes, they made use of every means, especially the control of public opinion. They diffused their principles by missions, the confessional, and seminaries established for the purpose of instructing and training youth; in every instance under the entire control of the order. Though at first a strictly religious order, they soon began to obtain and exercise political influence. The good done by them in the propagation of morality, and in the cultivation of various branches of science, was considerable; but in politics they soon

became formidable, in consequence of their unity, and the secrecy of their operations, until at length they excited the jealousy of the Catholic princes, who in 1773 obtained a papal bull for the suppression of the order. The society was again revived by another bull in 1814.

The reformation begun in England during the reign of Henry VIII., was carried on by Edward VI., who first legally established the Protestant religion in his kingdom. His minority, his short reign, and the ambition and quarrels of his guardians, prevented it from being fixed on a permanent foundation.

His death (A. D. 1553) was followed by the tragical episode of Lady Jane Grey, the learned, pious, and lovely princess who had been brought up in the seclusion of Bradgate palace, where she read Plato and her Bible while her gayer friends hunted in the park, and thus gained the religious philosophy which supported her in the hour of bitter trial. Placed upon the throne, by the unscrupulous ambition of her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, her title was too defective to be allowed without completely overturning the laws of succession, and after a brief reign of ten days she was dethroned. Subsequent rebellions on her behalf were deemed a sufficient reason by her successor, Mary, for bringing both herself and her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, to the block.

On the accession of Mary, the papal dominion was for a time restored. Her marriage with Philip of Spain was concluded against the wishes of her subjects, and was always a cause of dissension and disquietude to the nation. Throughout the whole of her reign the Protestants were persecuted with the greatest rigour. It is said that the number of persons whom she condemned and ordered to be burned as heretics, amounted to three hundred; among whom were the venerable Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer, Hooper, and Ridley. Her cruel persecutions, however, did not increase the love of her subjects for the yoke of Rome, and on her death, in 1558, her sister and successor restored and firmly secured the Protestant religion.*

In the course of the wars between Charles and Francis, Venice, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, had appeared so formidable that almost all the potentates of Europe united in a confederacy for its destruction, declined from its ancient power and splendour. Yet the government, that stern and imposing edifice of antiquity, seemed to have suffered no dilapidation. In the severity and oppression exercised over its subjects by the oligarchy, no decay of the Venetian power was perceptible; the whole of the period we have contemplated was undistinguished by any internal vicissitudes. In the words of the eloquent historian of Italy,† it suffered no dilapidation from the shock of centuries. Frowning over the gay and splendid bosom of the Adriatic, it stood like a feudal donjon; its massive grandeur deepened in gloom, not impaired by the ravages of time; its form alike unchanged and unchangeable. But if this fabric of real despotism, which had been erected for the pretended security of republican freedom, was not even menaced by

* Taylor. White.

† Proctor.



VENETIAN SENATOR OF THE TIMES OF CHARLES V.

domestic assaults, its outworks were no longer proof against foreign hostility. They had not only lost a great part of their territories in the war which grew out of the league of Cambray, but the progress of maritime discovery diverted the commerce of the world, which they had engrossed, into other channels. Her wise senators had foreseen this result, and had long and earnestly endeavoured to prevent it, but their efforts were of no avail; the sources of her wealth and prosperity were exhausted, while long wars aggravated her losses, and consumed her treasures. Lisbon became almost the sole mart for the precious commodities of the East, and Venice, from having engrossed the whole, found herself deprived of nearly every share in it. Her senate wisely laboured to veil the exhaustion of her resources, and the decline of her strength, under the appearance of moderation and caution, and as decay in states is not readily observed by their neighbours, except in seasons of rash exertions, the Venetians were enabled to command the respect once paid to their grandeur for two centuries after its real extinction.

Cosmo de Medici and his son Lorenzo having acquired great authority in Florence by their abilities and beneficence, their ambitious descendants resolved to take advantage of it for paving the way to a usurpation of the sovereignty. The views of Alexander de Medici on this subject met with the co-operation of the Emperor Charles, who not only placed him at the head of the republic,

but added the weight and credit of the empire to the popularity already enjoyed by the family. His successor, the able politician Cosmo the Great, knew so well how to avail himself of these, that he was enabled to establish his supreme authority over the ruins of the ancient republican constitution, and to transmit to his descendants, with the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany, the territories, which had belonged to the three republics of Florence, Pisa, and Sienna.

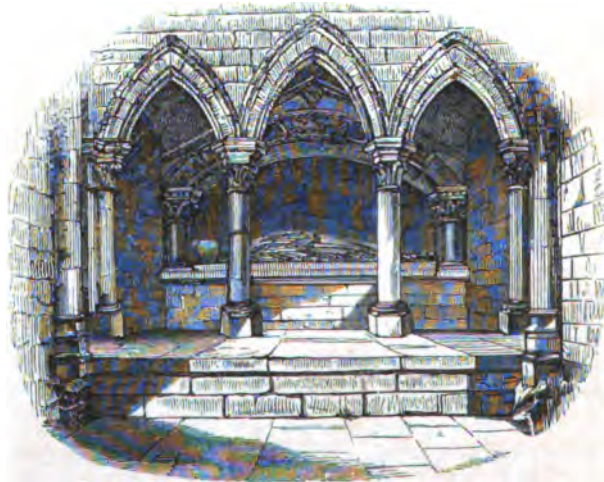
Of all the changes which took place in Europe during the age of Charles V., however, the most obvious and most important are those in the papal court. In the preceding volume, we have traced the rise of that spiritual jurisdiction claimed by the Roman pontiffs as the vicars of the Saviour, and have witnessed the progress of their temporal authority. Philosophy and science only had tended to circumscribe their authority, and these advanced so slowly and so feebly as scarcely to produce any effect upon the mighty edifice of the Church of Rome. But Luther, as we have seen, attacked the papal supremacy with different weapons, and with an impetuosity which combined with other circumstances to insure success. The kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, England, and Scotland, and one half of Germany, threw off their allegiance to the Pope, abolished his jurisdiction within their territories, and gave a legal sanction to systems of doctrines and modes of discipline not only independent of his power, but hostile to it. It penetrated into France, and produced a war which was long and doubtfully continued. The sentiments of the people of the Catholic countries of Germany were far from being unanimous in favour of Catholicism, and the tenets of Protestantism were secretly harboured in Spain and even in Italy, St. Peter's patrimony. The papal pretensions to infallibility were everywhere scoffed at by the learned and the able, and the most tyrannical exertion of the civil powers, the utmost vigilance of the priesthood, and all the rigour of the Inquisition, scarcely sufficed to restrain their vehement opposition.

These great defections struck a fatal blow at the grandeur and power of the papal see. The future incumbents of the pontifical chair found their territories abridged, their revenues diminished, and the field of operation of their servants cut off. Veneration for the dignity of the church, which had ever been greatest at the most remote distance from its seat of government, could not but fall, when it was confined to the more immediate vicinity of those who were enabled to see by what artifices its authority was upheld. Henceforth, too, the popes found themselves obliged to adopt a milder system of jurisdiction. They knew that their subjects were perpetually incited to revolt by the example of their neighbours, that their faith was not now explicit, nor their submission unreserved, and since the days of Luther they have substituted a rule by address and management, for their former authoritative government. The bold acts and decisions which characterized a Gregory VII., would now be considered absurd, and the popes of our own times, in the construction of their bulls and their edicts, find themselves obliged to lay aside the tone which made the princes of old to tremble and turn pale, and to assume a style which regards both the notions of their adherents and the prejudices of their enemies. They claim no new powers; they do not insist obstinately upon old prerogatives;

their policy is timid, cautious, and circumspect; they are no longer the movers and directors in every great enterprise; at the head of great alliances, or arbiters in the affairs of Christendom. Rome, from being the centre of political intrigue and negotiation, has become merely the seat of one of the weakest of the petty princes of Italy.

The Reformation, however, contributed to produce other effects on the Church of Rome. By its influence, the Roman Catholic clergy, previously infamous for ignorance, and for irregularity and dissoluteness of manners, have been stimulated to acquire the high character for eminence in literature and science, and purity of conduct, which so many of them now enjoy. Thus the desire of equalling the reformers in those talents which procured them respect, and of acquiring the knowledge necessary to defend their tenets from the attacks of their enemies, has exalted the character of the inferior clergy, and extended to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. During two centuries, no pope who may be compared with Alexander VI. for gaiety and licentiousness has disgraced the chair of St. Peter; but throughout this long succession, a wonderful decorum of conduct, compared with that of preceding ages, is observable. Many, especially among the pontiffs of the present century, have been conspicuous for all the virtues becoming their high station; and by their humanity, their love of literature, and their moderation, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors.*

* Robertson.





CHAPTER II.

Age of Elizabeth.



BEFORE embarking from the Low Countries for Spain, Charles V. had had the pleasure of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France. He had earnestly desired that his son's administration should commence in quietness, and that he himself might have the glory, when renouncing the world, of restoring to Europe that tranquillity which had so long been banished from it by his restless ambition. By the advice of the wise Montmorency, Henry II. broke the rash engagements into which he had entered with the Pope, and signed the treaty of Vaucelles, which provided for a cessation of arms for five years, and left in Henry's hands, for that period, the territories which he had conquered from the empire. Pope Paul IV. was filled with astonishment and rage at this treaty; but he concealed both his fear and his anger, and offered his mediation, as the common father of Christendom, in order to bring about a permanent peace. Under this pretext, he despatched Cardinal Rebiba to the court of Brussels, and Cardinal Caraffa to that of Paris. Both received the same public instructions; but Caraffa, who was the Pope's nephew, also received a private commission, to spare neither entreaties, promises, nor bribes, in order to induce Henry to renounce the truce and renew his engagements with Paul IV. The cardinal was well fitted for the task assigned him: by holding out hopes of the conquest of Naples, he secured the good will of the king; he

gained by his address the Guises, the queen, and the famous Duchess of Valentinois, Diana of Poitiers, the king's mistress. Henry had but half assented to the reasoning of Montmorency, when he had previously represented the folly of sacrificing the interests of the kingdom by continuing the war, and he was now induced totally to disregard the prudent remonstrances of the constable. Caraffa absolved him from his oath of truce, and Henry signed a new treaty with the Pope. Italy and the Low Countries were speedily lighted up with the flames of war. Paul IV. scrupled not to proceed to the most violent extremities against Philip, whose education had rendered him so superstitious, that he long hesitated about taking up arms. He consulted several Spanish divines about the lawfulness of such a measure, and only when they decided in his favour, and every gentle means had failed with the inexorable Paul, did he issue orders to the Duke of Alva to commence hostilities. That renowned warrior entered the papal states at the head of ten thousand men, and carried terror to the very gates of Rome. Obstinate and undaunted himself, Paul would have braved the worst; but his cardinals forced him to agree to a truce for forty days. The Duke of Guise soon after arrived in Italy with twenty thousand French troops; but he was unable to accomplish any thing worthy of his former fame. The Duke of Alva avoided an engagement, the Pope neglected to furnish the necessary reinforcements, and his ranks were greatly thinned by disease. He was therefore recalled at his own request. The courier who brought the order for his recall, was also the bearer of most disastrous news.

Philip had no sooner heard that Henry had broken the truce of Vaucelles, than he commenced acting with the utmost vigour. He assembled in the Low Countries a body of fifty thousand men; he induced the English who were ruled by his wife Mary, to engage in the contest, and send him ten thousand men, and he gave the command of the war to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the ablest generals of this warlike age. After amusing the enemy for a time by feints, he marched suddenly into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin. This had once been a place of considerable strength, but the fortifications were now out of repair, and the garrison numbered but one-fifth of the forces requisite for its defence. It must speedily have surrendered, had not the brave admiral De Coligny gallantly forced his way through the enemy's army into the town, with seven hundred horse and two hundred foot. The Constable Montmorency hastened to relieve his nephew from so dangerous a situation, and, zealous for the public good, rashly advanced against the enemy with forces one half inferior in number. His army was cut in pieces, and he himself made prisoner. The Duke of Savoy now wished to march directly to Paris; but the over-cautious Philip desired him to reduce St. Quintin first, in order that he might have a safe retreat if necessary. The gallant De Coligny defended it long and well, and before it was taken, France had been put in such a posture of defence that the enemy could gain only the two towns of Horn and Chatelet.

The courier who recalled the Duke of Guise from Italy, bore an account of the disastrous battle of St. Quintin, and the duke, who saw a far better field



SEIGE OF CALAIS.

for his ambition, positively refused to continue the defence of Paul. The haughty pontiff was therefore obliged to make peace, and such was the superstitious regard for the Holy See entertained by Philip, that he was enabled almost to dictate his own terms. They were simply that Paul should renounce his league with France, and that Alva should repair in person to Rome, and after asking pardon of the Holy Father in his own name and in that of his master, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, should receive absolution for that crime. On the same day that Paul saw his conqueror humbly kneeling at his feet, the Duke of Guise left Rome for France. He was received in his own country as the saviour of the kingdom, and his first measure proved the justice of the confidence which the king and the nation reposed in him.

For two hundred years the English had kept possession of a city which was regarded as the most valuable of all the foreign possessions of the crown, as it opened to them at all times an easy and secure entry into the very heart of France. Calais was in that age deemed impregnable, and the English, trusting to its strength, were accustomed to withdraw a great part of the garrison during the winter, and replace it in the spring. The vigilant and valiant duke suddenly laid siege to it in the depth of winter, and pushed his attacks with such celerity that the governor was obliged to surrender, on the eighth day, the citadel which had cost Edward III. an eleven months' siege. His success in this daring enterprise surprised his own countrymen no less than it did his enemies.

The joy of the French upon the occasion was extreme. In the first moment of enthusiasm, the states assembled at Paris voted 3000 crowns in gold to Henry by acclamation. There were great rejoicings in Paris. Henry sent to say that he would sup with the citizens attended by his court at the Hotel de Ville, on Holy Thursday. Twenty-five noble ladies, in silk uniforms, undertook the service of the tables. The floor of the hall, as a matter of great luxury, was covered with matting, and the ceiling was ornamented with branches of ivy woven into garlands; the walls were covered with rich tapestry, decorated with escutcheons. When Paul IV. heard that the Duke of Guise had taken Calais, he exclaimed that "it was the dower of Mary," and Daniel says, "it was all she gained by her marriage with Philip." The English loudly vented their passions, and murmured against the queen and her council, who had exposed the nation to such disgrace. Mary was repulsive in her person and in her manners, and though sincere in every thing, the catalogue of her vices includes obstinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty. The affair of Calais caused her to be more than ever hateful to her subjects, and her husband had long despised her, and now she fell into a fever which put an end to her short and inglorious reign, A. D. 1558. "When I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find Calais written on my heart."

Her sister Elizabeth mounted the throne amidst the rejoicings of all parties, notwithstanding that the Catholics held her title defective, on the ground that the marriage of Henry VIII. with her mother, Anna Boleyn, had not been sanctioned by the Roman Church. The education of Elizabeth, as well as her

interest, led her to favour the Reformation, and she very soon became the head of the Protestant power in Europe. Her first acts were calculated to give encouragement, and from these she went on, by gradual and secure steps, until the reformation in Great Britain was effected. Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude, and both set themselves with emulation to court her favour. Henry's object was to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and conclude a separate peace with her; Philip declared his esteem for her, and endeavoured to perpetuate their amity and alliance, by offering himself to her in marriage. The prudent and politic queen determined to yield to neither, yet for a time amused both. Such was her success with Philip, that that monarch warmly espoused her interests in a conference for a peace that was held at her camp, and continued them after the negotiations were removed to Chateau-Cambresis. Before they were ended, however, he perceived that the prospect of a marriage with Elizabeth grew more and more distant, and finally became desperate when Elizabeth's inclination to the reformed religion was made known. A proper sense of decorum would not permit him wholly to abandon her cause, and he therefore insisted that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form before that between France and Spain. The first treaty contained no important article, save that regarding Calais. It was stipulated that that town and its dependencies should remain in the possession of the French king for eight years, and then be restored to England, unless the sovereign of the latter country should, in the mean time, break peace with France or Scotland. (A. D. 1559.)

In order to facilitate the formation of the second treaty, two marriages were projected; one between Henry's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, and Philip II., the other between Henry's only sister, Margaret, and Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy. By the articles of the treaty, the French surrendered to Spain no less than eighty-nine fortified towns in the Low Countries and in Italy. The peace of Chateau-Cambresis embraced almost all Christian Europe: the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Portugal, the King and Queen of Scotland, and a number of secondary princes entered into it as allies of the three great powers. In the midst of the fetes given to celebrate the weddings of his sister and his daughter, the reign of Henry II. was terminated. Philip came to Paris in the month of June, accompanied by Emanuel of Savoy, the Duke of Alva, the Count d'Egmont, the Prince of Orange, and all the great commanders who had fought for him in the war. Among the entertainments which he prepared for his illustrious guests, Henry conceived the idea of giving a "passage of arms," after the manner of the tournaments of antiquity. He himself wished to be one of the challengers, and for three days he broke lances amidst the loud applause of the court. At length, on the evening of the 30th of June, he resolved, notwithstanding the entreaties of the queen, to break one more lance with Montgomery, the commander of the Scotch guards. They both entered the lists, charged each other and broke their lances, from one of which a splinter passed through the vizor of the king and entered deeply his right eye. The blow made him stagger,

assistance was immediately rendered, and the whole court, in the greatest alarm, gathered around him. He said it was nothing of importance, and freely forgave Montgomery. But the blood flowing from the wound proved the magnitude of the danger. He was carried to the palace of Tournelles, and as soon as the first dressing was removed, his recovery was considered hopeless. He died on the eleventh day after receiving the wound, having first caused the marriage of the Duke of Savoy and his sister Margaret to take place in his chamber. A few weeks after the death of Henry, Paul IV. ended his pontificate, and thus, as Robertson observes, all the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the theatre of Europe, disappeared nearly at the same time.

Though it settled the claims of the contending powers, the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis failed to secure lasting tranquillity to Europe. Mary, Queen of Scots, the daughter of James V. of Scotland, and great granddaughter of Henry VII. of England, was heir to the English throne, if the Catholic doctrine of the illegitimacy of Elizabeth could be established. The powerful and ambitious Guises were her maternal uncles, and through their influence she had been educated in France, and married, when very young, to the Dauphin, now Francis II. of France, the successor of Henry II. By her aid, Francis was brought under the influence of the house of Guise, which thus triumphed over the rival factions of the queen-mother, the perfidious Catharine de Medicis, the two princes of the blood, Anthony of Navarre and Louis, prince of Condé, and the powerful Montmorency and his family. But her power as Queen of France was soon ended by the death of Francis II., at the age of seventeen, and she returned to Scotland to encounter the misfortunes which have made her so celebrated.

In that country the Reformation had been going forward with the most ardent zeal. Among its promoters were some of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, and they had by their own authority suppressed the Papal religion over a great part of the country, whilst an ill-judged persecution on the part of the Catholic bishops gave a colour to their proceedings and an impulse to the spread of their doctrines. Headed by John Knox, a virtuous but very violent disciple of Calvin, they threw down the altars and images, expelled the priests, and demolished the churches and monasteries. When Mary of Guise, the queen-mother, attempted to reduce her Protestant subjects to submission, they applied to the Protestant queen, Elizabeth, who sent an army and fleet to their assistance. A capitulation followed the death of Mary of Guise, by which it was agreed that Mary's French troops should leave Scotland, and that Mary, Queen of Scots, should renounce all pretensions to the crown of England. The Catholic gave place to the reformed religion, which was established under Presbyterian forms. Unfortunately, this was as bigoted as the worst form of the ancient system had been. The Protestant subjects of Mary looked upon her with abhorrence, yet her winning manners and the weakness of her party prevented an immediate outbreak. The fanaticism of the Protestants was restrained by their trust in the Earl of Murray, who was also favoured with the

confidence of Queen Elizabeth. The first breach was occasioned by the marriage of Mary with Lord Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lennox, who stood in the relation of cousin to both Mary and Elizabeth. (A. D. 1565.) Finding security refused to the Protestant religion, several lords sought refuge in England, and acted upon the jealous nature of Darnley, to induce him to join their association. The object of their misrepresentations was one Rizzio, an Italian, secretary to Mary, who was very partial to him. Darnley introduced a party of armed men into the palace, arrested Rizzio in the queen's presence, and murdered him at her feet. The birth of a son shortly afterwards hardly reconciled Darnley and the queen, but their renewed intercourse was speedily interrupted by Darnley's death. Falling sick, he was visited by Mary, who, it is said, caused him to be removed to a solitary house called the Kirk of Field, on the pretence that quiet was necessary to an invalid. On the 9th of February, 1569, this house was blown up with gunpowder, and the lifeless body of Darnley was found near it, but exhibiting no marks of external violence.

The suspicion of having committed this outrage fell upon the Earl of Bothwell, while Mary was regarded as an accessory to it; a suspicion which she unfortunately justified by her speedy marriage with Bothwell. It may be remarked, however, that he had been absolved on trial for that crime, and had by force made himself master of her person.* The Earl of Murray now confined her in Lochleven castle, on the pretext that she was guilty of adultery and murder, and forced her to abdicate in favour of her son, who was crowned with the title of James VI. She escaped from prison, and immediately found herself at the head of a numerous army; but the regent Murray hastily assembled his forces, and, though inferior in number, defeated her troops in a pitched battle at Langside, near Glasgow. A dispersion of the queen's party followed this reverse; Mary fled southwards from the field of battle with great precipitation, and with a few attendants reached the borders of England. She dared not remain in her own kingdom; she was unwilling, in her present condition, to seek refuge in France, where, formerly, she had been surrounded with so much splendour; and the only course left was to throw herself upon the generosity of her subtle rival Elizabeth, who had lately treated her with a show of sympathy and protection. Her resolution was soon taken. She embarked on board a fishing boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle, whence she despatched a messenger to London, notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.† A great object of Elizabeth's ambition had now been gained; her hatred of her rival had hitherto been confined to secret co-operation with Mary's enemies, but the unfortunate queen was now in her power, and, by her alliance with Murray, the English queen had command over the kingdom of Scotland. The virgin queen might now have pursued a course which would have rendered her's the most illustrious character of modern

* Tytler.

† Hume.



Europe, but the virtues of her heart were far inferior to the powers of her mind; her generosity and her honour gave way to policy, and her unfortunate rival was placed in close custody. She was made to suffer the indignity of a trial for the murder of her husband, at which Murray boldly stood forth as her accuser. It came to no conclusion, however, and Mary was detained in custody. Nine years of the captivity which she subsequently endured were passed in Winfield castle, a part of which still bears the name of Queen Mary's Tower. Events abroad, which immediately come under our notice, decided her fate.

During the year that Francis II. occupied the throne of France, he was the mere tool of the Guises. These co-operated with Philip of Spain in an attempt to establish the Inquisition throughout their respective countries. Philip, unlike his father, was more politic than warlike. By zeal for religion, and profuse liberality toward the nobility, he hoped to receive the united support of the ecclesiastics and the aristocracy, in his attempts to subdue the people,—to

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acquire universal dominion. But in the Netherlands and in France, the attempt to establish the Inquisition provoked a determined resistance; the papacy became identified with cruelty and tyranny, and its opponents with patriotism. The persecution of the French Protestants, which had been commenced by Henry II., and continued with greater violence by his successor, had served only to increase their numbers. At the death of Francis II., the leaders of the Huguenots, the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre, were both in prison on account of their faith, the first being under sentence of death. Catharine de Medicis, the queen regent for the infant Charles IX., pursued the policy of "dividing to govern." She released the captive princes, made the King of Navarre lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and recalled Montmorency to court; and though the Guises still enjoyed high offices and great power, they found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence. The two parties speedily found themselves engaged in hostilities, brought on by an attack made by the retainers of the Duke of Guise upon a party of unarmed Protestants whom they found worshipping in a barn. The King of Navarre went over to the Catholic side, and was killed at the taking of Rouen; but Condé and Coligny took the field at the head of a small army. A bloody battle was fought at Dreux, in which the Catholics were victorious. Both the Prince of Condé and the commander of his opponents, Montmorency, remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies. The Council of Trent, which was sitting at this time, celebrated the victory of Dreux by a public thanksgiving, thereby proving to the world the hollowness of their professed desire for peace.

This public proceeding was calculated to give another accession of strength to the reformers; but secret plans were devised, fraught with imminent danger to the Protestants. The Cardinal of Lorraine imprudently revealed one of these by reading in his place a letter from his niece, Mary of Scots, in which she promised to submit herself to the council, and, in the event of her succession to the throne of England, to subject both her kingdoms to obedience to the Apostolic See. The Cardinal added that Mary would have sent prelates to represent her kingdom in the council, had she not been obliged to keep terms with her heretical counsellors. After eighteen years of sittings, the council was dissolved, and, though in all that time no plan for reforming ecclesiastical morals, discipline, or doctrines had been produced, the last act of the holy fathers was the fulmination of an anathema against heretics. The declared object of its meeting was the reformation of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Protestants could have been effected. But instead of confining themselves to theological errors, or attempting to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, the fathers extended their deliberations to the reformation of princes, and composed thirteen articles for exalting the priesthood at the expense of the royal prerogative. All hope of temporal dominion having been lost, the Council of Trent applied itself to giving spiritual supremacy to the church. By its decrees it placed her in such a position that she was necessarily an ally to any despotic and ambitious monarch, and henceforth we find that in Catholic countries, every sovereign remarkable for hostility to constitutional

freedom has been a firm supporter of the Holy See and the "articles" of the Council of Trent.

Soon after the dissolution of the council, Pope Pius IV. urged a conference between Philip of Spain and Catharine de Medicis. Philip objected to a personal interview, on account of his ill-health, but sent an able representative to meet the queen-regent of France at Bayonne. There the Duke of Alva and Catharine accordingly consulted as to the best method of attaining their object, the destruction of the Huguenots and all others disposed to restrict the royal prerogatives. The bloody Alva recommended the most violent measures, edicts of extermination, military executions, and general massacres. But Catharine, though no less cruel than the duke, was more politic, disposed rather to rely upon craft and cunning than power in the attainment of her ends. Alva's atrocious plans could not be executed in France without the introduction of a large Spanish force, and she was too jealous of power to allow any influence to be exerted by a foreign court over the realm she governed. She hated the Huguenots far more for their political power than on account of their heretical opinions; and it was this very power of its leaders that prevented the Reformation from becoming general among the lower and middle classes in France. They impressed an aristocratic character upon it, which caused these classes to associate it in their minds with feudalism.

The attempt by Philip to establish the Inquisition in Flanders, provoked an insurrection, which the Duke of Alva was commissioned to suppress, and was therefore furnished with almost absolute authority. His tyranny forced many of the Flemish merchants and manufacturers to remove to England, where their industry and enterprise gave a considerable impulse to the commercial prosperity of that kingdom. As the Netherlands were then the chief seat of the manufactures of Europe, the Flemish exiles introduced into England many useful arts hitherto unknown in that country. Elizabeth would gladly have aided the distressed Protestants in the Low Countries; but the mighty power of Philip, and the great force which he maintained in those mutinous provinces, had hitherto kept her in awe, and made her still preserve some appearance of friendship with that monarch. She had permitted the Flemish privateers to enter the English harbours and there dispose of their prizes, but on the remonstrance of the Spanish minister she withdrew that liberty; a measure which finally proved prejudicial to the interests of Philip, inasmuch as it threw the Netherlands upon their own resources, and led them to defend by desperate valour the provinces already well fortified by nature.

The character of Alva was too bloody to allow him to restore peace to the Netherlands, and the heroic resistance made by the princes of Orange to his oppressions, finally caused the separation of those provinces from the Spanish crown. The papal court frequently blamed the brutal obstinacy of Philip and the duke; but the latter preferred force to fraud, open exterminating war to the more certain, more Italian method of assassination. The Turks joined in the contest, and assumed the character of protectors of the Flemings, but they were defeated by Don John of Austria, who commanded the allied Spanish and



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Venetian forces, in the bloody battle of Lepanto. This was one of the most fierce and destructive naval combats of modern times. Thirty thousand Turks were slain in the conflict, ten thousand taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christians set at liberty. Thirty Turkish galleys were sunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty taken: the confederates sustaining a loss of fifteen galleys and ten thousand men. The hostile combatants fought for three hours hand to hand in most of the galleys, as on a battle field. At length the Turkish admiral was slain, his head was made to replace the Ottoman standard at the stern of his ship, and the banner of the cross waved from the mainmast. The cry of victory resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turks gave way in all directions. When Pope Pius V. heard of this victory, he was transported with joy, and exclaimed in a kind of holy ecstasy, "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John;" alluding to the gallant commander of the allies. But Philip of Spain, when the news of his brother's success was communicated to him, merely remarked, "Don John has been fortunate, but he ran a great risk." The victory was not followed up; the Turks recovered from their consternation, and "the risk" proved to have been encountered merely for glory.

In the year 1570, a treaty concluded at St. Germain ended the war, which had lasted for ten years, and which commenced by a Huguenot conspiracy for removing the young king from the hands of the Guises. The terms of this treaty were favourable to the Huguenots, and the peace which it established was to be cemented by a marriage between the young King of Navarre and the princess Margaret, sister to the King of France. The first artifice for blinding the Protestants was the conclusion of a defensive alliance between France and England. The projected marriage was one of the last steps of a diabolical conspiracy against the Huguenots, by which it was hoped for ever to destroy their power in France. The leaders of this devoted people suffered themselves to be once more deceived by the promises and professions of the court; the admiral De Coligny, the Prince of Condé, and all the most considerable men of the Protestant party, went to Paris to assist at the celebration of that marriage. Catharine and her son Henry, the brother of Charles IX., finding that Coligny was beginning to have an influence over the king, resolved to assassinate him, and hired a villain to carry out this resolution. The admiral was wounded but not killed, and his friends discovered the authors of the plot, and imprudently avowed their intention of revenging it.

Catharine therefore assembled a council of her friends, at which it was resolved to massacre all the Huguenots on the eve of St. Bartholomew, A. D. 1572. The populace of Paris was wholly Catholic, and at that time the most bigoted in the kingdom; the royal guard were still animated by the spirit of the wars in which they had been engaged; and on these the conspirators, seven in number, relied for the execution of their plot. On the appointed evening, when every arrangement for the effectual accomplishment of the slaughter had been made, and all was in readiness to begin, Catharine went with her advisers to the king, who had been kept in ignorance of the whole transaction. He was but little better than an idiot, and the crafty Catharine succeeded in procuring his signature to the decree of extermination. At midnight the work of death commenced, chiefly under the direction of the Duke of Guise. For eight days and nights the massacre continued with undiminished fury. About five hundred gentlemen of rank, most eminent in the Protestant party, and nearly ten thousand persons of inferior condition, were murdered in Paris alone. The same barbarous orders were sent to all the provinces of the kingdom, and Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, and other cities were witnesses to similar scenes; citizens zealously seconding the execution of the soldiery, imbruing their hands without remorse in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations. Several Catholics fell in the confusion which everywhere prevailed, victims of mistake or private animosity. Charles himself assisted to swell the carnage, by firing from a balcony upon the Protestants who attempted to escape by crossing the Seine.

Though at Madrid and at Rome the supposed overthrow of heresy in France was celebrated by public rejoicings, the Catholic cause sustained a serious injury by the horror which the massacre excited among the Catholics themselves in the north of Europe. In France the Protestants found themselves

strengthened by the sympathy of all who possessed the finer feelings of humanity, and they recommenced the struggle. The war was marked by even greater fury than before, and the authors of the massacre found that they had acquired immortal infamy in vain. The Prince of Orange placed himself at the head of the revolted Netherlanders, and gave to the insurrection a determined character by capturing Brille. He had now a naval station for his cruisers, and a sufficient appearance of strength to justify the cities of Holland and Zealand in joining the confederacy. The massacre of St. Bartholomew stimulated them to perseverance, and though defeated on the land, they destroyed a great part of the maritime power and advantages of Spain. Alva was unable to re-establish his master's supremacy, and he therefore gave place to Zunega y Requesens. (1573.) This general opened his administration by a brilliant victory gained over the patriots at Monher Moor, near Nimeguen. The three brothers of the Prince of Orange all fell in this battle, which would probably have ended the war but for the mutinous disposition and misconduct of the Spanish soldiery. By pillaging Antwerp they added many indignant Catholics to their Protestant enemies. Five of the Batavian and six Belgic provinces acceded to the pacification of Ghent, A. D. 1576, which met with the approbation of Don John of Austria, the successor of Requesens. But religious jealousies soon rendered it evident that the northern provinces could only obtain freedom by uniting together closely and throwing off all allegiance to Spain. With this view the Prince of Orange formed the confederacy of Utrecht, which was the basis of that commonwealth so renowned under the name of the Republic of the United Provinces. (A. D. 1579.) The nomination of the Duke of Parma to the regency threatened to ruin the confederacy, the southern provinces entered into an alliance with him against the northern insurgents, the Prince of Orange was assassinated, and general gloom clouded the prospects of the brave Hollanders. But they lost not their courage. They chose Maurice, a youth of eighteen, the son of their late illustrious leader, to be their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land, and vigorously continued the war. When the arms of the Duke of Parma were still successful, and Antwerp fell into his hands, they obtained aid from Queen Elizabeth, and though they derived little benefit therefrom, yet the breaking out of hostilities between England and Spain, and the death of the Duke of Parma in the civil wars of France, gave the heroic Maurice a superiority by sea and land, and finally forced the haughty sovereign of Spain to recognise their independence, A. D. 1609.

The weak brother of Charles IX., who had been called to the throne of Poland, resigned that dignity when the death of the King of France opened to him the succession. He almost immediately began a religious war, which he ended in less than a year by an ignominious peace. The contempt which this conduct and his subsequent debaucheries caused to fall upon Henry III., encouraged his enemies the Guises to raise once more the cry of "religion in danger." The Pope and the King of Spain declared themselves the protectors of a league which was drawn up by the Cardinal of Lorraine for the defence

of the Catholic religion, and which was sworn and subscribed to by Catholics of all ranks and conditions in Paris and the provinces. The Duke of Guise was the head of this confederacy, which was called the Holy League, and which speedily obliged Henry to revoke the freedom of conscience he had granted to the Huguenots. A civil war, the ninth since the death of Francis II., immediately broke out.

The formation of this league precipitated the death of Mary Queen of Scots. Some enthusiastic English Catholics formed a plan for murdering Elizabeth, and an act of parliament was passed authorizing the trial of Mary for participation in the plot. Commissioners came to Fotheringay castle, where she was imprisoned, and, although she was not guilty of the charge, they condemned her to death. Elizabeth, with great show of reluctance, signed the warrant for her execution, and gave it to Davison, her private secretary, enjoining him not to use it without further orders. Davison showed the warrant to the members of the council, and they unhesitatingly caused Mary to be executed.*

The death of the unfortunate queen was speedily followed by the murder of her uncles, the Guises. The factious duke, at the assembly of the states of Blois, exhibited such vain ostentation and unbounded authority, that the king awoke from the apathy into which he had fallen. Moved by many lords, who were really devoted to his cause, he fixed the moment for decisive action. Guise received several hints; among others, a note placed under his napkin informed him that Henry had sworn to compass his death. "He dares not do it," he said in a low voice, as he threw the paper under the table. The catastrophe immediately followed. He was called by the king to the cabinet, and as he opened the door he was knocked down by four gentlemen of the chamber, who mutilated him dreadfully with their halberds, and ended his existence. At the same moment his brothers and his most distinguished adherents were arrested. Many were put to death in prison, and the rest fled, spreading consternation everywhere. Henry, however, was too much given to inaction to pursue the advantage he had gained. While he pompously dissolved the assembly of the states of Blois, and superintended the funeral of Catharine de Medicis, who had at length ceased to vex France with her intrigues, the leaguers aroused themselves to vigorous measures. They assembled a parliament, deposed the king, and created the Duke of Mayenne lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Henry sought the aid of his Protestant subjects, and was on the point of driving his enemies from Paris, when he was assassinated by a fanatic, suborned for that purpose by the leaders of the League. The race of Valois being now extinct, the crown fell to the house of Bourbon, the offspring of Robert, the sixth son of Saint Louis. Its head, and consequently the King of France, was the warlike and amiable Protestant king, Henry of Navarre.

The League, however, confided the direction of their affairs to the Duke of Mayenne, the brother of the Duke of Guise, and proclaimed as king the old Cardinal de Bourbon, who was a prisoner in the hands of Henry IV. The duke

* Taylor. Tytler.

left Paris at the head of 25,000 men in quest of Henry, whose feeble army numbered but 7000, yet the latter fought a bloody battle with him at Arques in Normandy. The advantage was on the side of the king, but Mayenne having taken three standards, sent them to Paris with the announcement that he was about to bring Henry bound with cords to the capital. The rejoicings of the citizens were at their height when Henry himself appeared before the city, not a pinioned captive, but the commander of a victorious army, lately reinforced by five thousand English. He allowed his troops to pillage the Faubourg St. Germain, then abandoned Paris for the conquest of Lower Normandy.

The Leaguers fell into violent schisms, and Henry again approached Paris. At Ivry he was confronted by Mayenne with an army superior in point of numbers. Both parties made preparations for a battle, but the valiant king suffered no precautions to be taken in the event of misfortune. "No other place of retreat," said he, "than the field of battle." As he led his troops into action, he called out to them, in case they lost sight of their standards, to follow the plume in his helmet, assuring them that it would ever be found in the road to honour. Such a leader could not fail of success; the army of Mayenne was almost entirely destroyed. (1590.) The conqueror marched directly upon Paris, which, oppressed by its defenders, found pity only from the prince who besieged it. The obstinacy of the League made the inhabitants to suffer the most horrible extremities of famine, but they succeeded in defending the walls until the arrival of the Duke of Parma forced Henry to raise the siege. The war was continued with fury until 1593, when the States General assembled at Paris for the purpose of choosing a king. Henry, convinced that he could not hope to reign in quiet as long as he remained a Protestant, abjured that faith, and thereby set all the rival interests in commotion, and created a tempest in the States General. The League had no further pretext for its continuance; and though Mayenne endeavoured for private purposes to prolong the war, he but alienated from himself the affections of all parties, and unwillingly contributed the sooner to restore peace. The Count of Brissac, to whom he had confided the government of Paris, entered into negotiations with Henry, who was at St. Denis, and delivered up the city to the royal troops on the night of the 22d of March, 1594. The Spanish guards only offered resistance; they were put to the sword; the factions were awed by terror and surprise.

Henry himself at length appeared. He was met by the Count of Brissac and the Mayor of Paris with the keys of the city; he himself advanced in the midst of a body of nobles with pikes trailing. His march was a perfect triumph, and from that day forth he looked upon the Parisians as his own children. All his enemies, even those whose fury had hired assassins to murder him, experienced his clemency. The Duke of Mayenne was defeated again at Fontaine Française, and expressed his readiness to acknowledge Henry, when the king should have received absolution. This was extended to him by the papal legate. Mayenne was pardoned, and thenceforth served him faithfully. Henry then turned the united arms of the kingdom against Philip of Spain, who, when all his projects had failed, when his treasury was exhausted



ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO PARIS.

and his navy ruined, renounced the claims he had preferred against France. (1598.) In the same year, Henry, now firmly in possession of the throne, made amends to the Protestants for his desertion of their ranks, by the promulgation of the famous edict of Nantes, which secured to them the free exercise of their religion, and a share in the administration of justice, and the privilege of being admitted to all offices of trust, honour, and profit.

Meanwhile, Philip of Spain had added the kingdom of Portugal to his other dominions, on the death of the king of that country without issue. (A. D. 1580.) When Elizabeth, departing from her cautious policy, espoused the cause of the revolted Netherlanders, and assumed the proud place of head of the Protestantism of Europe, Philip was preparing an expedition, which had for its purpose no less an object than the conquest of England. In all his dominions, Spain, Portugal, Naples, and such parts of the Low Countries as still recognised his authority, he caused ships of uncommon size and force to be fitted out; naval stores were bought up at great expense; provisions amassed; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces, and plans laid for such an embarkation as had never before appeared on the ocean. An immense fleet of transports was being built to carry 35,000 men, under the Duke of Parma, who was to join what national vanity fondly denominated the Invincible Armada, and with it enter the Thames, land the Spanish army near London, and decide the fate of England at one blow. All Europe apprehended that Elizabeth must be overwhelmed; but, undismayed, she boldly prepared to meet the danger. She gave the command of her fleet to a gallant Catholic nobleman, Lord Howard, of Effingham, under whose command were the most



QUEEN ELIZABETH AT TILBURY.

renowned seamen of Europe, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. To awaken the courage and patriotism of her subjects, she made her personal appearance at the head of her troops. At Tilbury, she appeared on horseback, riding through the lines and speaking to the soldiers. The effect of her harangue was commensurate with the sound judgment and consummate knowledge of mankind which dictated such a display.

On the 30th of May, 1588, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Armada sailed from Lisbon, but on account of stormy weather it did not reach the English channel until the 19th of July. While he waited for the Duke of Parma to join him with the transport ships, the Spanish admiral was attacked by the Earl of Effingham, who, after seven days of warfare, forced him to abandon all hopes of accomplishing his purpose, and turn his thoughts towards an escape. Dreading again to encounter the English fleet, the Duke of Medina Sidonia resolved to lead his squadron round the British Islands. He was followed closely by his enemy, and would perhaps have been compelled to surrender, but for the failure of the contractors to supply the English fleet with ammunition. The event, however, was scarcely less fatal to the Spaniards. The Armada was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys, and many of the vessels were driven on the western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland. Less than one half of the fleet, and a smaller proportion of the sol-



EARL OF ESSEX

diers and sailors returned to Spain. The defeat of this great enterprise destroyed the decisive influence which Spain had acquired in the affairs of Europe, and ever since the shipwreck of the Armada, the Spanish state and people seem to have lost all energy, and sunk into almost hopeless decay.*

The close of the brilliant reign of Elizabeth presents few remarkable features. The attempt of the Armada was retaliated by the English, who made descents on the Spanish coast, under their great commanders Raleigh, Howard, Drake, Cavendish, and Hawkins. The handsome and accomplished Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, distinguished himself in these expeditions, and won the favour of the English queen. The unrivalled place in her affections, and the chief authority in her councils, became his by the death of her former favourite, Liecester, and of her minister Burleigh. His pride disgusted the nobles, who took advantage of his failure in quelling a rebellion in Ireland to undermine him in the favour of the queen. In the excitement of his disgrace, and confident of his great popularity with the people, he proposed to possess himself of the person of the queen, compel her to remove his enemies and acquiesce in all his measures. This treasonable enterprise led Elizabeth to sign the warrant for his execution, and he was led to the scaffold.

While Essex was in high favour with Elizabeth, she had given him a ring as a pledge of her affection, and had accompanied the gift with a promise that

* Russell. Taylor.



EARL OF ESSEX LED TO EXECUTION.

into whatever disgrace he might fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him by his enemies, he might depend on her for forgiveness if he produced that ring. In his final extremity, Essex resolved to try the efficacy of this precious gift, and he committed it to the Countess of Nottingham, in order that she might deliver it to the queen. But the husband of the countess was one of the most implacable enemies of Essex, and he persuaded her to act an atrocious part; neither to deliver the ring to the queen nor return it to the earl. Elizabeth imputed the omission of this appeal to her tenderness to the disdainful pride of her favourite; and the resentment which this caused her to feel was one of her chief reasons for assenting to his execution. The Countess of Nottingham, falling sick after the death of Essex, was struck with remorse on account of her perfidy, and desired to see the queen in order to reveal to her a secret, without disclosing which she could not die in peace. When the queen entered her apartment, she presented Essex's ring, related the purpose for which she had received it, and begged forgiveness of her crime. All Elizabeth's affection returned, all her rage was roused. "God may forgive you, but I never can," she cried, as she shook the dying countess in her bed. She then rushed out of the room.

Few and miserable, after this discovery, were the days of Elizabeth. Her spirit left her, and existence itself seemed a burden. At length, when her death was visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will in regard to her successor; she named her nearest kinsman, the King of Scots. She soon after expired, her body being totally wasted by abstinence and anguish.

While her death teaches us a striking lesson of the unsubstantial nature of

human greatness, the history of her times shows to what a degree of wealth and consequence a nation may be raised in a few years by a wise and vigorous administration, and what powerful efforts may be made by a brave and united people in repelling or annoying an enemy, however superior in force.*

The reign of Elizabeth, says Chambers, saw the commencement of the naval glory of England. Down to the reign of Henry VII., there was no such thing as a navy belonging to the public, and the military genius of the people was devoted exclusively to enterprises by land. The rise, however, of a commercial spirit in Europe, which in 1492 had caused the discovery of America, and was again acted upon by the scope for adventure which that discovery opened up, had latterly caused great attention to be paid to nautical affairs in England. Englishmen of all ranks supported and entered into enterprises for discovering unknown territories; and under Drake, Cavendish, Raleigh, and Frobisher, various expeditions of less or more magnitude were sent out. The colonies of North America were now commenced. Amongst the exertions of private merchants, our attention is chiefly attracted by the commencement of the northern whale-fishery, the cod-fishery of Newfoundland, and the slave-trade in Africa. When hostilities with Spain became more open; the English commanders made many successful attacks upon her colonies in the West Indies, and also upon the fleets of merchant vessels which were employed to carry home the gold, and other almost equally valuable products of the New World, to the Spanish harbours. These attacks were now made in a more systematic manner, and with more effect, as a revenge for the affair of the Armada. It may almost be said that the dominion of Britain over the seas was perfected in one reign; a power which has been of such advantage to that country, both in protecting its commerce and keeping it secure from foreign invasion, that its origin would have conferred everlasting lustre on this period of English history, even although it had not been characterized by any other glorious event.

* Russell.





CHAPTER III.

*From the Time of Elizabeth to the Commencement of the
Thirty Years' War.*



ONE month before the edict of Nantes terminated the long series of civil wars, and banished religious animosities from France, the wise Henry IV., by the peace of Vervins, secured himself from interruption on the part of Spain, while he turned his attention to the arts of peace, and the increase of the happiness and prosperity of his kingdom.

No country could be in a more wretched condition than France at this time: the crown loaded with debts and pensions; the whole country desolated; the people poor and miserable, and the nobility unjust, rebellious, and cruel. But Henry had a sound head and a bold heart; and his minister, the famous Sully, was equally firm, active, and indefatigable. After having served the king most faithfully in all his earlier fields, he entered his councils, and was placed at the head of the finances. Under his able and honest management, affairs soon changed their aspect; the treasury was replenished, while, at the same time, the people found their burdens lightened by economy. He made the king master of his own affairs; digesting the whole system of the finances into tables, by the help of which Henry could see, almost at a single glance, all the different branches of his revenue and expenditure. He diminished all the expenses of government, but, at the same time, paid every one punctually, and took care that the king should always have a reserve, that, upon an emergency, he might not be obliged to lay new impositions on the people, or make use of credit. In five years, by his prudence he paid all the debts of the crown, augmented the revenue four millions of livres, and had four millions in the treasury; yet with all this he had considerably reduced the taxes. His maxims of policy were

generally good, though not so liberal as those of Henry himself. Thus Sully was an enemy to all manufactures connected with luxury, while the king reasoned that a prosperous people would always possess themselves of luxuries; and that it was better to fabricate them in the kingdom than purchase them from foreigners with the precious metals or the produce of the soil. Henry therefore introduced the culture and manufacture of silk, and with such success, that before his death he had the satisfaction to see it not only supply the home consumption, but bring more money into the kingdom than any of the former staples. The manufactures of linen and tapestry, which he also established, were equally successful. The peace of his kingdom and the security of Henry's throne, however, were continually endangered by the consequences of his numerous love intrigues, and the machinations of the court of Spain. The continued attempts of the latter to disturb his kingdom, made Henry resolve to carry into execution the design which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, and circumscribing its power in Italy and Germany. This was but a part of a grand project for the transformation of the whole of Europe into a federative republic, which it was his intention should furnish one common army wherewith to drive the Turks out of Europe.*

Since the death of the Emperor Charles V., nothing of importance had occurred in Germany. Ferdinand I. and his son Maximilian II. had reigned in profound peace, and Rudolph II. would have done the same, had he been able. Although he was more occupied with astronomy and astrology, which he studied under the famous Tycho Brahe, than with the affairs of the empire, during his long reign it enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity; the equity of his administration compensating for the weakness of his rule. His brother Matthias was an ambitious prince, who made himself master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, possessions which the Emperor confirmed, rather than incur the horrors of a civil war. To secure and extend their privileges, the Protestant princes of the empire formed a confederacy, called the Evangelical Union, which was opposed by another under the name of the Catholic League.

A contest for the succession to the power of the late John William, duke of Cleves, Juliers, Berg, and Mark, roused to arms the heads of the two parties. The duke left no children, but four sisters, whose husbands and other distant relations all laid claim to the beautiful lands of the Lower Rhine. Two of these claimants, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Count-palatine of Neuberg, took first possession, and signed a treaty at Dusseldorf, by which they agreed to govern the country until the matter was definitively settled. Rudolph, however, sent his brother Leopold to take possession of it as a fief of the empire. Finding that he could only gain the town of Juliers, he set about raising troops in Alsace, to maintain the rights of the Emperor by force. The Evangelical Union came forward to aid the two princes thus threatened, and Henry IV. of France seized upon this opportunity for interfering in the affairs of Germany. He embraced the cause of the Union, and formed alliances

* Russell. Kolrausch.

with several of his neighbours, especially the King of England and the Italian princes. In the spring of 1610, the army of the Union marched into Alsace, dispersed the few thousands of soldiers collected there by Leopold, and suddenly assumed a hostile attitude throughout all the sees of the Rhine, levying contributions and exercising the greatest violence in every direction. The Catholic League also took up arms, but an event which occurred in France rendered the members of the Union more disposed to terminate matters in an amicable way, and both sides shortly afterwards laid down their arms. This event was the death of Henry IV.

That sovereign had assembled an army of forty thousand men, chiefly old troops, and a more excellent train of artillery was prepared than had ever been brought into the field. The great Sully assured him that there were forty millions of livres in the treasury, and promised, if the king did not increase the number of his troops beyond forty thousand, to supply him with money sufficient for the support of the war, without laying any new tax upon the people. Henry proposed to command his army in person, and was impatient to put himself at its head, but the queen, Mary de Medicis, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. According to the account left by Sully, Henry was more disquieted at the thoughts of this ceremony than by any thing that had ever happened to him in his life. Besides being displeased at the delay it occasioned, he was conscious of an inward dread; arising, no doubt, from the many barbarous attempts that had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunities which a crowd afforded of putting them into execution. He agreed however to the coronation, notwithstanding these apprehensions, and determined to honour it with his presence. On that occasion he escaped, but next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, a blood-thirsty fanatic, named Ravaillac, found an opportunity of executing a deed which he had long meditated. The king was going in his carriage to see the Duke of Sully, attended by a small party of gentlemen on horseback and a few valets on foot. As the weather was fine, both doors of the carriage were left open. In a narrow street, adjoining the cemetery of the Innocents, it encountered on one side a vehicle laden with wine, and on the other a wagon filled with hay, which caused some obstruction, and the king was compelled to halt. A great portion of the valets passed on foot into the cemetery to run more at their ease, and to get before the carriage to the end of the street. Of two valets, who alone followed the coach, one went forward to remove the obstruction, and the other was arranging his dress, when Ravaillac, who had had time to notice the side on which the king was sitting, mounted on the wheel of the carriage, and with a two-edged knife struck the king a blow between the second and third ribs. Henry exclaimed, "I am wounded," when the assassin repeated the assault, striking a blow upon the heart, which caused the immediate death of the king. So fierce was this parricide against the king that he repeated the blow again, but without effect. Surprising as it may seem, none of the lords who were seated in the carriage with Henry had seen him struck, and the

DEATH OF HENRY IV.



assassin might have escaped, had he thrown away his knife. But he remained fixed, as if to make himself seen, and to glory in the greatest of assassinations.

Francis Ravailac seems to have been a gloomy enthusiast, who had no great or settled object to gain by becoming a regicide. It was naturally suspected that he had accomplices, and the most dreadful tortures were inflicted on him to make him disclose their names. But he resolutely refused to purchase a respite from his intolerable agony, though he might readily have named innocent persons as his accomplices. The house in which he had lived was razed to the ground, his relations were banished the kingdom, and he himself was carried to the Place de Greve, where his right hand was burned off with sulphur, his limbs were torn with pincers, and melted lead, boiling oil, and burning rosin were poured on his wounds. The torture was long protracted, and the groans and struggles of the miserable culprit were witnessed with joy by the populace. He was finally attached to four horses, which, pulling in opposite directions, at length terminated his existence by tearing his body to pieces. Fragments of the corpse were then seized by the excited crowd. Portions of it were preserved, but bonfires were made in several parts of Paris to consume the quarters of the criminal, which were reduced to ashes amidst the furious execrations of the frantic multitude.

The king, whose murderer was thus inhumanly punished, was of middle stature, active, and inured to fatigue and pain. His temperament was robust, and his health excellent. His forehead was bold, his eye lively and assured, his nose aquiline, his complexion florid, and his countenance mild and dignified. His hair and beard became gray at a very early period. "It is the wind of my adversity that has blanched them," said he to those who expressed astonishment at the change of colour.

Henry was one of the ablest and best princes that ever sat on the throne of France, and none of her rulers have ever been more popular than he. Though his passion for women was his greatest weakness, and caused him much trouble, he never suffered his mistresses to direct his councils or influence him in the choice of his ministers. But his libertine example undoubtedly produced a bad effect upon the manners of the nation. All orders of men were in consequence infected with a sort of pernicious gallantry, which, though it did not degenerate into enervating sensuality, produced abundantly fatal consequences. Four thousand French gentlemen are said to have been killed in single combats, chiefly arising from amorous quarrels, during the first eighteen years of Henry's reign. Having been long habituated to the sight of blood, and prodigal of his own, Henry could never be prevailed upon strictly to enforce the laws against duelling.*

In Germany, the old Emperor Rudolph embittered his last years by quarrelling with his family. Of all his relations, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, was the only one to whom he was sincerely attached, whilst his brother Matthias was the object of his greatest dissatisfaction. He wished before his

* Russel. Taylor. Kohlrausch.

death to give the crown of Bohemia to Leopold, but the states of the kingdom, mistaking his intentions, supposed the march of that prince from Passau to Bohemia to be a preparatory step to an attack upon their religion. They therefore took arms, made the Emperor a prisoner in his own palace at Prague, and called for aid upon the ambitious Matthias. Nothing loth, Matthias obeyed their call, entered the city, and compelled the unfortunate Rudolph to yield to him the crown of Bohemia. Of all his crowns, the only one now remaining to him was that of the empire, and had not death released him from his troubles, he would probably have been compelled to undergo the mortification of resigning this also. (A. D. 1612.)

Matthias was now chosen his successor; and was crowned at Frankfurt, on the 24th of June, 1612, with such splendour and stately pomp as had rarely been witnessed. He was no sooner seated on the imperial throne than the Protestants, to whom he had formerly been very indulgent, required an extension of their privileges, while the Catholics, who knew his real sentiments, urged upon him new restrictions. He resolved to free himself from the difficulty by laying aside the mask, and convincing the Protestants that he was their master. Meanwhile, as he was advancing in years, and declining in health, he caused Ferdinand, Archduke of Gratz, whom he intended as his successor in the empire, to be elected King of Bohemia. In order that there might be no difficulty about his succession to the imperial crown, both the brothers of Matthias, Maximilian and Albert, renounced all claim to the Austrian states, and proposed Ferdinand as their substitute. This family compact alarmed the Evangelical Union, and occasioned a revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. The malecontents in Hungary were soon appeased; but the Bohemian Protestants, whose privileges had been invaded, obstinately continued in arms, and were joined by those of Silesia, Moravia, and Upper Austria. Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which desolated Germany during thirty years, and interested all the rest of Europe.

Meanwhile, important revolutions had happened in the north of Europe. When the Swedes separated from the confederacy which had been formed by the treaty of Calmar in 1397, the sovereign whom they chose paid a merely nominal allegiance to the throne of Denmark. Christian II. of Denmark resolved to destroy the independence of the Swedes, and, having overthrown their ruler in battle, marched towards the capital, wasting every thing with fire and sword. The senate was divided about the choice of a new ruler; but the conqueror allowed them little leisure to deliberate. Stockholm surrendered to him, and he caused himself to be crowned King of Sweden. Affecting clemency, Christian went to the cathedral, and swore that he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent disposition of a prince raised to the throne by the voice of the people. He then invited the senators and grandees to a feast that lasted three days. On the last day, in order to afford the king a pretext for executing his intentions, the Archbishop Trolle, who, though primate of Sweden, had been brought over

to the interests of Christian, reminded the king that though his majesty, by a general amnesty, had pardoned all offences, no satisfaction had yet been given to the Pope, and demanded justice in the name of his Holiness. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests; the primate proceeded against them as heretics; and on a scaffold before the palace gate, ninety-four persons of distinction were publicly executed for defending the liberties of their country. Other barbarities followed; the rage of the soldiery was let loose upon the citizens, who were mercilessly butchered, and the body of the late sovereign was dug from the grave, exposed on a gibbet, quartered, and hung up in various parts of the kingdom.

One of the nobles thus slain was Eric Vasa, whose son Gustavus had previously been carried as a hostage to Sweden. This prince now became the deliverer and avenger of his country. He escaped from his confinement in Denmark, and concealed himself, in the habit of a peasant, in the mountains of Dalecarlia. There he was deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off all his little treasure. Bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and perishing of hunger, he entered himself among the miners, and while he sought bread in the bowels of the earth, he fed his soul with ambitious hopes of a future career of glory. Again emerging to light, he distinguished himself among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and bodily strength and agility, and acquired considerable ascendancy over them before they were acquainted with his rank. At their annual feast he made himself known, and exhorted his hearers to assist him in restoring the liberties of their country. They listened to him with admiration; the young glowed with rage against their oppressors; the aged saw signs of success in the heavens and in the direction of the winds; the wreath of victory appeared already on his brow, and they eagerly desired to be led against the enemy. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his castle, took it by assault, and sacrificed the Danish garrison to the just vengeance of the Dalecarlians. This bright commencement was not dimmed by the events which followed. Gustavus saw himself everywhere victorious, and gained partisans in all parts of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune; his popularity daily increased; and he mounted the redeemed throne of Sweden amid the joyous shouts of all his subjects.

The Nero of the North, Christian II., had made himself obnoxious by his tyrannies to his Danish subjects, who deposed him. His uncle Frederic, duke of Holstein, was chosen to succeed him. He found Gustavus firmly seated on the Swedish throne, and wisely concluded an alliance with him and the Hanse-towns. Christian II. made several ineffectual attempts to recover his throne, and finally died in captivity. Christian IV., one of the most prudent and politic princes of his age, succeeded Frederic on the Danish throne, and under his auspices and those of Gustavus Vasa, the reformed religion was extended over Denmark and Sweden. Christian IV. was distinguished among the northern sovereigns by his superior talents, and his zeal as a reformer of abuses. He extended commerce and encouraged manufactures, and was a judicious patron of literature and art.

Sweden rose rapidly to be a successful rival of Denmark. This happy change was chiefly effected by her two great sovereigns, Gustavus Vasa and his grandson, Gustavus Adolphus. The latter raised Sweden to the summit of her greatness. He was involved in wars at his accession, A. D. 1611, and so extended his fame by his victories over the Russians and the Poles, that he was called to be the head of the Protestant confederacy against the house of Austria.

While Denmark and Sweden were thus beginning to take a part in the affairs of the civilized world, Russia remained buried in barbarism and obscurity. Enslaved as they were by the Tartars, all the attempts of the Russians at independence ended in failure and punishment; and though their government, notwithstanding, slowly acquired consistency, it was not until after the Tartar strength was weakened by the wars of Timourlane that they succeeded in throwing off the yoke. Though continually exposed to the attacks of the Poles, the gallant Prince Ivan Vassilievitz,* grand duke of Moscow, refused the payment of the usual tribute to the Tartars, and expelled their merchants from his capital. These spirited proceedings of course brought on a war, which lasted twenty years, and involved the destruction of the Golden Horde and all the Tartar settlements. This prince extended his authority over Novogorod and Cassan, and died in 1505, after a prosperous reign of forty-three years. His son, Vassili Ivanovitz, reigned during twenty-eight years; a period chiefly remarkable for wars with the Poles, and the recovery of part of Lithuania.

Ivan the Terrible, the fourth duke of Moscow, and the second Czar of Russia of that name, succeeded to the throne. Though his cruelties acquired for him the surname by which he is known, he laboured to civilize the empire which his valiant predecessors had acquired. During his reign, some English navigators discovered the White Sea, and were carried before Ivan, who not only gave them permission to trade with Russia by way of that sea, but offered large inducements for merchants to come thither from England. He also established a correspondence with Queen Mary of England and her successor. In the early part of his reign he established a standing army, called the Strelitzes, who were the first regular troops of Russia, and were trained to use fire-arms.

In his reign Siberia was discovered and annexed to the Russian dominions, but the complete reduction of that country belongs to his son Feodor, who founded the city of Tobolsk. Feodor was a prince of weak intellect, whose government was administered by his ambitious brother-in-law, Boris Godonoff. This minister caused the brother of Feodor to be assassinated, and when the weak czar himself died in 1598, Boris usurped the throne. His tyranny caused the people to seek for an opportunity of revolting. It was soon afforded. A report was spread that Demetrius was still alive, and a young man appeared in Poland in that character, who gave a distinct account of the manner in which he had escaped from the murderers sent to destroy him. The truth or falsity of this story has never been ascertained. Sigismund, King of Poland, either

* The son of Vassili.

ASSASSINATION OF DEMETRIUS.



believed his story, or affected to do so, as a pretext for dethroning the czar. Demetrius entered Russia with a large army of Poles and Cossacks, and was joined by great numbers of the Russians. A battle was fought, in which the pretender was victorious, and a revolution in his favour occurred in Moscow. Boris died of anxiety and trouble in 1604, and his son being assassinated during a popular tumult, Demetrius was acknowledged as the true heir to the throne, and crowned at Moscow. Great preparations were now made for the marriage of Demetrius with the daughter of the King of Poland, but before the time fixed for the ceremony arrived, the new czar had made himself hated by the people. He totally disregarded their religious opinions, and, to their great horror, gave an entertainment to his guests, with dancing and music, within the walls of a convent. An insurrection broke out at the tolling of the great bell; it was headed by a nobleman named Vassili Shuiski, who led the way to the palace with a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, followed by a vast armed multitude. The palace gates were forced, and Demetrius, after making a desperate resistance, leaped from a window, but as his leg was broken by the fall, he failed to escape, and was sacrificed to the fury of the mob. All the Poles in the city shared the same fate, and Shuiski was rewarded with the throne. Immediately another Demetrius appeared, and after his defeat two others, one supported by the Poles, the other by the Swedes. During seven years these pretenders kept the country in a state of civil war. Shuiski was deposed and imprisoned, Moscow plundered, and Novogorod taken by the Swedes. The whole empire seemed on the point of destruction, when it was saved by the patriotic exertions of a small but daring band of men, who chose Michael Romanoff, a descendant of the first Ivan, for czar, and succeeded in establishing him on the throne. The accession of the family of Romanoff gave an entirely new character to the history of Russia, which from that time ceased to be considered in the light of an Asiatic and half-barbarous nation, and began to be recognised as one of the European states.

By uniting Lithuania to Poland, the race of the Jagellons made that kingdom of some consideration in the north. (A. D. 1382.) Though the crown was elective, the throne continued in the possession of the same family uninterrupted for two hundred years. Sigismund I., a contemporary of Charles V., was esteemed a great prince. Sigismund II. favoured the Reformation; but the want of a middle order in society, which has ever been the misfortune of Poland, prevented evangelical principles from taking deep root in the country, and producing the benefits that had resulted from them in other states.* The male line of the Jagellons became extinct on the death of Sigismund II. in 1572, and thenceforth we find the meetings of the electors marked with violence and bloodshed. Though often divided among themselves, the nobles were always united in restricting the sovereign authority. Every sovereign, on his accession, was obliged to sign certain capitulations, which greatly limited his rule, and secured the chief powers of state to the aristocracy. Under its new constitution, Poland was internally weak and miserable, though some of

* Taylor. Russell.

its monarchs still distinguished themselves by foreign conquests, especially Vladislaus IV., who wrested the duchy of Smolensko from Russia.

From the period of the taking of Constantinople in the fifteenth century, the Turks were a great and conquering people. In the sixteenth century, Selim I., after subduing Syria and Mesopotamia, undertook the conquest of Egypt, then governed by the Mamelukes, a race of Circassians who had seized the country in 1259, and put an end to the feeble government of the Arabian princes, the descendants of Saladin. The conquest of Egypt by Selim made little change in the form of its government. It professed to own the sovereignty of the Turks, but was really governed by Mameluke pashas or governors. Solyman the Magnificent, the son of Selim, was, like his predecessors, a great conqueror. The conquest of the island of Rhodes, from which the knights of St. John had expelled the Saracens in 1310, became an object of his ambition. He attacked it with a fleet of four hundred ships and one hundred and forty thousand men, and the Rhodian knights, after sustaining a siege for many months, were compelled to capitulate and evacuate the island. (1522.) Solyman also subdued the greatest part of Hungary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and took from the Persians Georgia and Bagdat. In 1571, his son, Selim II., took Cyprus from the Venetians, and though the latter organized a triple alliance with Spain and the Pope against the Ottoman power, gained the famous victory of Lepanto, and took Tunis, the Turks continued extremely formidable. Under Amurath III., 1574, they encroached upon Hungary, and subdued a part of Persia, and the barbarous successor of that prince, Mohammed III., supported the dignity of his empire.

From his time the Ottoman power declined, yielding gradually to the Persians, who, under Schah Abbas the Great, wrested from the Turks a large part of their dominions. This prince was a descendant of Haydar or Sophi, a religious enthusiast, who had established a new sect of Mohammedans. Sophi held Ali to be the successor of Mohammed instead of Omar, and abolished the pilgrimages to Mecca. The Persians found little difficulty in embracing a doctrine which distinguished them from their enemies the Turks. Ismael, the son of this teacher, enforced the new doctrines with the sword. He subdued all Persia and Armenia, and at his death, in 1522, left this vast empire to his successors. His great-grandson was Schah Abbas the Great, a prince whose despotic sway enabled him to give full effect to his able policy. He reconquered the territories which had fallen into the hands of the Turks; he rebuilt the fallen cities of Persia, and contributed greatly to introduce a higher degree of civilization and art. Unfortunately for his kingdom, the schahs who succeeded him were weak princes. In the time of his son, Shah-Sesi, the Great Mogul took Candahar, and the Turks deprived Persia of Bagdat. (A. D. 1638.) The Persian monarchy gradually declined; the sovereigns became the tools of their viziers, who governed according to their pleasure, until a revolution in the early part of the eighteenth century gave the throne of the schahs to a race of Tartar princes.*

* Tytler.



JAMES I.

From the east, we turn to the west, to notice the downward progress of the Spanish monarchy under the unhappy policy of her rulers. From the death of Philip II., Spain declined in power, and, notwithstanding the wealth of the New World was poured into her lap, her national finances were in the utmost disorder. Philip III. was forced to conclude a peace with the Dutch, and to restore its confiscated estates to the house of Orange. In an evil hour he complied with the dictates of his weak and despicable minister, Lerma, and expelled from his kingdom all the Moors, who were the most industrious of its inhabitants. This depopulation, joined to that produced by the mania for American colonization, and the long and destructive wars, rendered Spain a lifeless and enervated mass. From the languor into which it then sunk it has never since fully recovered, though the remembrance of its former strength caused it to be long terrible; and associations were formed for restraining the exorbitant power of Spain after Spain had ceased to be powerful.

In England, the reign of James I. was chiefly marked by domestic events. James was a prince of considerable learning and talents, but of little vigour of mind or political energy. By unwisely proclaiming his pretensions to unlimited



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

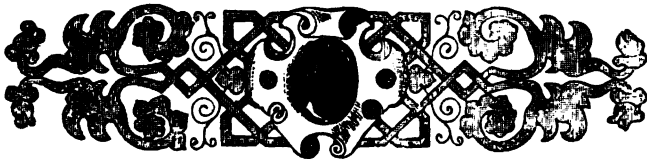
power, he brought his subjects to question it, and thereby made himself unpopular. Excited by his tyranny, the current of public opinion turned to the importance of enlarging the rights of the subject and retrenching the royal authority; and during the reign of James, the seeds were sown of that spirit of popular resistance which cost his unfortunate successor his head. In 1603, a conspiracy was discovered for elevating the king's cousin, Arabella Stuart, to the throne, to the exclusion of James. In this affair, the Lords Cobham and Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, were principally concerned. The former were pardoned, and Raleigh, though condemned, was reprieved. James afterwards excited much angry feeling among his subjects, when, after a lapse of fifteen years, he caused Raleigh to be executed on this sentence, on the plea that, by unwarrantably attacking one of the Spanish settlements in America, he had infringed the peace with Spain.

Another conspiracy, of a still more dangerous nature, was strangely perverted to render James hateful to the English. This was the Catholic conspiracy of the Gunpowder Plot, whereby they hoped to destroy both the king and the parliament at a blow. (A. D. 1604.) It was discovered, from a circumstance of private friendship, on the very eve of its accomplishment; and the principal

conspirators suffered capital punishment. Public indignation was vented against the Catholics; and when James sought to mitigate its fury, his parentage was recalled to memory, and his humanity ungenerously construed into a favour which he entertained for the religious tenets of the church of Rome. Unfortunately for the success of his policy, James attached himself to unworthy favourites. The most celebrated of these were Carr, earl of Somerset, and his successor Villiers, duke of Buckingham. The first was disgraced, on being convicted of having a share in an infamous murder. Buckingham was devoid of every talent as a minister, and odious to all ranks of the state. He planned a journey of Charles, prince of Wales, into Spain, to visit the infanta, whom James wished to unite in marriage with his son. Contrary to all expectation, this scheme proved a total failure, the treaty being frustrated on the brink of its conclusion, by the folly and insolence of the British minister. The only foreign military enterprise of the reign which this sovereign undertook was sending a feeble armament to aid his son-in-law, Frederick, in his wars in Germany, of which we shall come to speak more particularly in the following chapter. His favourite project was the complete union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, which, though it would doubtless have proved beneficial, was a measure which the violent mutual prejudices of the two nations as yet rendered them unable to bear. The Episcopal hierarchy was introduced into Scotland as a preparatory step, but it only proved the cause of future trouble. James I. died in 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign over the kingdoms of England and Scotland.

"That James was contemptible as a monarch," says Russell,* "must perhaps be allowed; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He possessed a considerable share of both learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. His spirit, rather than his understanding, was weak; and the loftiness of his pretensions, contrasted with the smallness of his kingly power, only perhaps could have exposed him to ridicule, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of his person and the gross familiarity of his conversation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental; and that peace which he loved and so timidly courted was favourable to industry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, that in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people, than during the reign of this despised prince."

* Modern Europe.





CHAPTER IV.

The Thirty Years' War.



THE young prince Ferdinand had no sooner become lord over the states of Bohemia than he commenced reforming them by restoring the ancient form of divine service. Maintaining the principle that the sovereign of a country should tolerate but one established religion, he compelled those who would not join the ancient faith to expatriate themselves.

These severe measures produced the most serious consequences throughout the territories of Ferdinand; yet in his harsh proceedings the young prince combined so much resolution with temper, and evinced so much determined seriousness, that the disturbances excited by discontent were immediately quelled, and tranquillity was maintained without recourse to the scaffold, without shedding blood.

At the time when the Emperor Rudolph still held both the imperial crown and that of Bohemia, the Protestant states availed themselves of his feeble condition to obtain, in 1609, the permission for the free exercise of their religion, the establishment of their own consistory, and other important privileges. This document is called the letter of majesty. Since the time when Ferdinand was nominated as King of Bohemia, great activity and boldness were observed by the Protestants to characterize their Catholic fellow-subjects. The reports

which were everywhere circulated threatened the most arbitrary measures against the Protestants. "The letter of majesty," in the language of the Catholics, "was now no longer valid, it having been extorted from King Rudolph." Many vague hints of future executions, confiscations, and persecutions, were dropped by the malicious, and, augmenting in number, and assuming a more definite form as they passed from place to place, they excited increasing terror and dismay in the minds of all.

At length, an alleged infraction of the provisions of the letter of majesty gave a pretext for open hostilities. The Protestants claimed the privileges of that letter for all their brethren in Bohemia, while the Catholics would have restricted them altogether to the Protestant states. Under the provisions of the letter, the Protestants residing within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Prague built a church in the small town of Clostergrab, while those in the territory of the Abbot of Braunau also erected one in the latter place. Unwilling to tolerate their existence, the archbishop and abbot procured an imperial decree, by virtue of which the church in Clostergrab was razed to the ground, and that at Braunau was closed. As several of the inhabitants of Braunau rose in opposi-



COUNT THURN.

tion to this arbitrary act, they were thrown into prison. An Italian nobleman, Count Matthias of Thurn, who had long resided in Bohemia, took up the office of Champion of the Evangelists, and summoned the Protestant states to meet in Prague. Several petitions were forwarded to the Emperor, beseeching him to remove the causes of complaint, and to command the liberation of the imprisoned citizens of Braunau.

The imperial reply was harshly worded. It characterized the resistance of the

people of Braunau and Clostergrab as a revolt; condemned the states for having occupied themselves with the affairs of the citizens, and for holding illegal meetings, and seeking by the false reports they made of the danger to which the letter of majesty was exposed, to alienate from the Emperor the love and fidelity of his subjects; and ended with a threat that the matter should be investigated, and each should be treated according to his merits. This reply gave cause to anticipate the worst results, and so excited did the minds of the Protestants become, that, when it was reported that the document had not issued from Vienna, but had been prepared in Prague itself, they vented their

indignation upon those who were named as its authors. The two Catholic privy counsellors, Martinitz and Slavata, were said to have superintended it, and they, with one of their sycophants, Fabricius, were precipitated by the enraged deputies of the states, headed by Count Thurn, from the window of the council hall of the castle of Prague. Though the depth of their fall was more than fifty-six feet, they escaped with life, because they happened to fall upon an immense pile of paper shavings and soft materials, and were afterwards fortunate enough to escape the bullets that were fired at them as they were led away. The Bohemians attempted to justify themselves; but prudently made preparations for self-defence. The castle was garrisoned with their own troops; all persons in office took the oath of fidelity to the states, the Jesuits were expelled the country, and a council of thirty noblemen was established for the government of the land. The leader and director in all these measures was Count Thurn, whose whole soul was devoted to the cause.

Ferdinand levied soldiers in every quarter, and manifested a determination to suffer no interruption in his career from the indecision of the Emperor. The Bohemians took possession of every city in their country save Budweis and Pilsen, the latter of which was soon captured for them by Count Ernest of Mansfeld. This famous general was one of the most remarkable heroes of a heroic age, who, without territory or people, by the mere celebrity of his name, gathered together an army of brave soldiers, and led them for hire or for booty whithersoever his prowess was needful. He had been raising troops for the Duke of Savoy against the Spaniards, but the duke requiring them no longer, gave him permission to serve in the cause of the Evangelical Union. That body despatched him with 3000 men to Bohemia, where he appeared unexpectedly and wrested from the imperialists the important city of Pilsen.

Meanwhile, Matthias died, and was succeeded by Ferdinand. (1619.) The Bohemians, however, refused to acknowledge the new Emperor, whose hostile intentions were but too unequivocally expressed. They formally deposed him, and chose Frederic V., elector-palatine, for their king. This prince, by allowing himself to accept this dignity, assumed a position which would have ranked him among the great, noble, and enterprising of the earth, had he possessed the strength of mind necessary for a successful prosecution of the work. But in the hour of trial he failed. The energy and presence of mind which he must have who would wear a hazardous crown, were never characteristics of the unfortunate Frederic. By a skilful policy Ferdinand gained over to his cause all the wavering, and Frederic found himself left with scarcely any auxiliary but the Evangelical Union.

All Germany now resounded with the noise and bustle of warlike preparation. The members of the Union were not more active than those of the League, and the whole country resembled a grand recruiting depot. At length, on the 3d of July, 1620, the two armies met at Ulm, where, to the surprise of the people, they entered into a compact, in which the forces of the Union engaged to lay down their arms, and both parties pledged themselves to preserve peace and tranquillity. This defection of the Unionists from his cause,

though it preserved them from destruction at the hands of their more powerful enemy, laid the young king Frederic open to the attacks of the combined forces of the League and the Emperor. He could only rely in this emergency upon the small resources of his own house, and the troops of Bohemia. This courageous and faithful people had, two hundred years before, defended their country against all Germany combined, and they might have acquitted themselves equally well at this time, had not Frederic failed to gain their confidence. His life was careless and his time wasted in extraneous matters, and his mind without that inward dignity of self-possession and calm reflection so necessary at a moment so portentous. His father-in-law, James I. of England, more occupied with scholastic disputes than measures of policy, neglected to accord him support; Holland and Venice, Denmark and Sweden, acknowledged him king, but afforded him no assistance, and he himself neglected preparations for defence until the Elector of Saxony occupied Lusatia.

About the same time the valiant and politic head of the Catholic League, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, appeared before the gates of Prague with an army of 50,000 men. As the imperialists advanced, the Bohemians took up a position in the Weissenberg, (White Mountain,) near the city. But the Austrian and Bavarian troops advanced to give battle before their entrenchments were completed. Thus deprived of protection against the superior forces of the enemy, the Bohemians were routed in the short space of one hour. His army beaten and dispersed, and his artillery taken, all Frederic's hope vanished; he fled with the principal Bohemian lords, and the capital and the kingdom submitted to the victors. The defeated king first sought refuge in Silesia, then in Holland. Unable to defend himself, he was stripped even of his hereditary dominions, the palatinate on the Rhine being conquered by the Spaniards under Spinola, and the upper palatinate by Maximilian of Bavaria.

For three months after the victory Ferdinand took no steps in relation to Bohemia. At the end of that time, when many of the fugitives had returned, forty-eight leaders of the Protestant party were suddenly taken prisoners, and on the same day, and in the same hour, twenty-seven of them were condemned to death and executed. The property of the remainder, with that of the absentees, was confiscated; the Protestant clergymen were gradually all banished the kingdom, and finally it was declared that no subject would be tolerated in Bohemia who did not adhere to the Catholic faith. It is calculated* that the number of families who at this time were forced to leave Bohemia, amounted to thirty thousand; to whom for the most part Saxony and Brandenburg afforded a refuge. Thus were the hopes of the Catholics realized; the election of Ferdinand to the empire annihilated the letter of majesty.

Though given up as hopeless by the elector himself, the cause of Frederic arose anew by the strong arm and the invincible boldness of Ernest of Mansfeld. After having left Pilsen, this chief planted his standard in the Upper Palatinate, and succeeded in gathering around it twenty thousand valiant sol-

* Kohlrausch.

diers. With these he dared to contend against a power which made Europe



ERNEST OF MANSFELD.

tremble, the combined forces of Austria, Spain, and the League. He appeared suddenly in the Lower Palatinate, to the terror of the Spaniards; and in Alsace, by the plundering of which he satisfied his rapacious followers. The famous Bavarian general, John Tserklas Tilly, was forced to take the field against him, but by rapid and well-planned marches, Mansfeld deluded his antagonist, and everywhere spread desolation among the Catholic bishoprics. His proud example was followed by others. George Frederic, Margrave of Baden Durlach, collected a strong army, and took the field in favour of the palatine house. He would not fight as a prince of the German empire, lest his land should be made

to suffer for it, but as a knight and champion in that which to him appeared most just; accordingly, before he entered into action, he transferred into his son's hands the government of his country. When united with Mansfeld, Tilly was no match for him, but when they separated, the Bavarian general defeated him on the field of Wimpfen, on the 8th of May, 1622.

His ill-success, however, did not deter others from following his example. Duke Christian of Brunswick came forward to support the cause of Frederic, and, after a variety of adventures, joined himself with Mansfeld. United, they entered Alsace, extended their march to the provinces of Lorraine, and made Paris itself tremble as they threatened to march thither to the aid of the Huguenots. After devastating all the neighbouring provinces, they marched into Holland, and joined the Netherlands in their struggle against the Spanish power. The war might now have been terminated had the Catholic party acted with moderation; but Ferdinand caused the territories and title of the elector palatine to be conferred upon Maximilian of Bavaria, and intimated his intention of persevering in the course he had entered upon. He recognised in the success that had attended his measures, an intimation from God that he ought to persevere, and the defeat by Tilly of Christian of Brunswick, who had recommenced operations, added another to the causes of his self-gratulation, and seemed a pledge that his confidence would be crowned with continued success. The terrified Protestants felt bound to exercise all the energy which they possessed, rather than wait in inaction for the infliction of any punishment to which they might be subjected. Lower Saxony, especially, perceived the danger, took up arms, and chose for the conductor of the war Christian IV. of Denmark,

a young and energetic prince. He promised them considerable aid ; England resolved to espouse their cause vigorously, and France assumed an attitude

hostile to Austria. The war in Germany, on the Catholic side, had been carried on almost entirely by the League ; but as the preparations of the Protestants became now more extensive, the League demanded supplies of troops from the Emperor. Ferdinand himself wished to furnish an army, in order that the house of Bavaria should not take all the credit of the operations to itself ; but he needed the necessary means to effect this object, and was at a loss how to raise and equip the number of men required. Under these difficulties an individual presented himself, who proposed to carry on the war by his own resources, and single-handed.



FERDINAND II.

Albert of Wallenstein, or more properly Waldstein, was descended of a noble Bohemian family. He was born in 1583, of Lutheran parents, but they dying when he was very young, he was sent by his maternal uncle to a Jesuit college at Olmütz, and was there educated in the Catholic faith. He attached himself to the Archduke Ferdinand, and set out, in 1617, at the head of 200 cavalry, raised at his own expense, to aid him in an expedition against Venice. Ferdinand, by way of remuneration, gave him the rank of commander of the militia in Moravia. During the early troubles of Bohemia, he fought in the cause of Ferdinand, afterwards took arms against Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania, who had raised pretensions to the crown of Hungary, and filled the station of quartermaster-general in the imperial forces under Boucquoi, when, with Maximilian of Bavaria, he gained the battle of Weissenberg. After this he made another campaign against Bethlen Gabor, who had defeated the imperial generals Dampierre and Boucquoi, made him retreat, and obliged him to accede to terms of peace and to relinquish his claims to the Hungarian crown. During the war he had furnished and supported several regiments at his own cost, and as an indemnity for these expenses, and for the devastation which his estates had suffered, he received, in 1622, the territory of Friedland in Bohemia, with the title of duke. Besides this, he purchased for a large sum of money the confiscated estates of about sixty Bohemian noblemen, and thus became possessed of immense wealth. While Tilly was in command at

the head of the League, Wallenstein lived retired on his estates, although he felt much discontented at finding the war carried on without him. Now, however, when he found the Emperor desirous of raising an army, he offered his services to levy troops of his own for the Emperor, taking upon himself nearly the whole cost. He stipulated only that he should have unlimited control over them, and possess the exclusive power of appointing officers and collecting a force not of 20,000, but of 50,000 men. Such an army, he said, would soon be able to maintain itself. He obtained the full authority required, and in a few months afterwards the army was raised and completely equipped.

The character of Wallenstein is ably given by a learned historian of Germany, as follows. He was born to command; his acute eye distinguished at the first glance, from among the multitude, such as were competent, and he assigned to each his proper place. His praise, from being but rarely bestowed, animated and brought into full operation every faculty, while his steady, reserved, and earnest demeanour secured obedience and discipline. His very appearance inspired reverence and awe; his figure was lofty, proud, and truly warlike; his jet-black hair was cut close above his high and commanding forehead, while in his bright piercing eye was expressed profundity of thought, combined with gravity and mystery—the characteristics of his favourite studies and researches in the language of the stars and the labyrinths of the planets.

Before continuing the narration of the history of Germany, it may be well to recur to the affairs of Western Europe. At his death Henry IV. of France left the throne to his infant son, Louis XIII., during whose minority the government was badly administered by his mother, Mary de Medicis. All the political maxims of Henry IV. and his able minister were disregarded, and Sully, finding that he could be of no service to the nation while his honest counsels were disregarded, retired into private life, and occupied himself in writing the memoirs of his beloved king, which have contributed to render the names of both so famous.

Mary de Medicis, when she came to marry Henry, brought with her from Italy a lady named Leonora Galigai, who was soon after married to an Italian courtier named Concini. This couple, both ambitious and intriguing, acquired great influence over the queen-regent; and though he made no pretensions to military ability, Concini caused himself to be made Marshal of France, with the title of Marshal D'Ancre. The marshal and his lady became so haughty and repulsive that they were universally disliked; the principal men of the kingdom bore with chagrin the power of the favourites, and repeated insurrections and civil wars distracted the realm. They had, however, gained too great an ascendancy at court to be easily displaced. An intimate friendship was concluded with Spain, and cemented by a double marriage, between Elizabeth, the king's sister, with the son of Philip III., and Louis himself with Ann of Austria. (A. D. 1612.) The Protestants now experienced manifold disfavour, and frequently engaged in hostilities with the Catholics, who were themselves irritated by the increasing disorder in the administration. The



declaration of the majority of the king, in 1613, made no change in affairs; he was but twelve years of age, and his mother and her favourites still retained their power. By the influence of the Marshal D'Ancre, the ministry was changed, and Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, was made secretary of state.

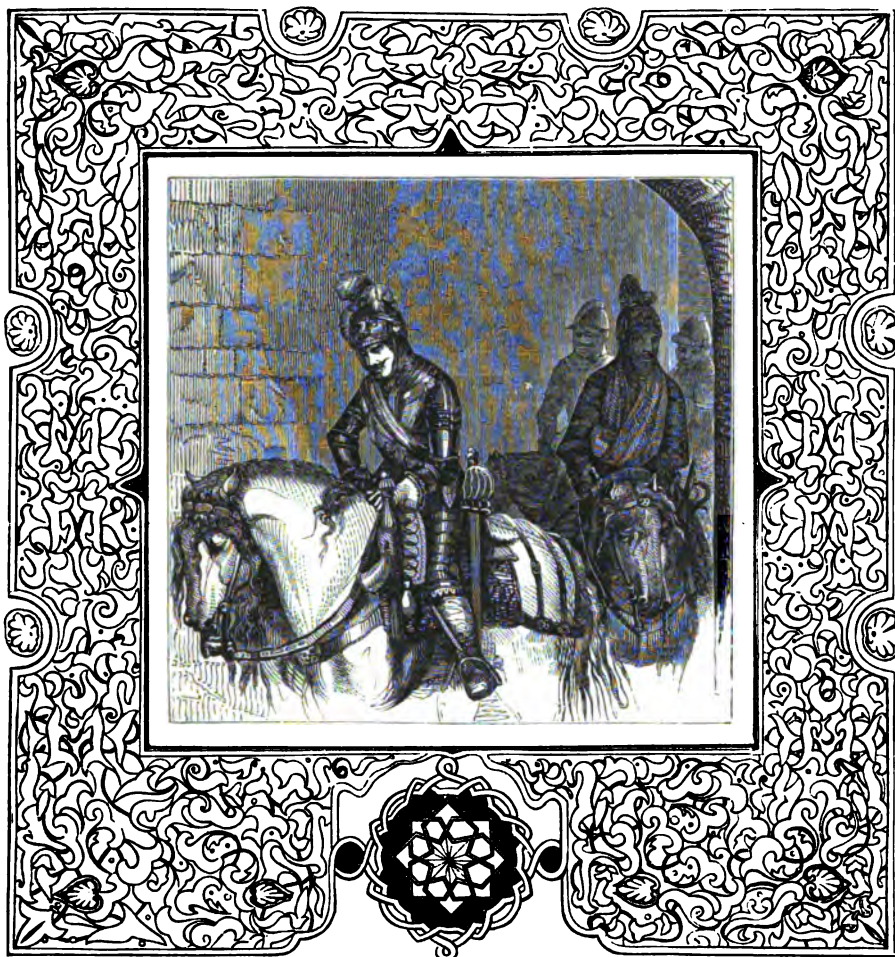
The enemies of the marshal became every day more numerous and more exasperated. The falconer whom the marshal had placed about the king's person, Charles D'Albert de Luynes, had made great progress in gaining the affections of the young prince. He had lately succeeded in making the king regard the discontented princes as being less his enemies than they were those of the marshal, and caused Louis to remark with what care D'Ancre had, up to that time, withdrawn him from public affairs, and in a manner made him a prisoner. He taught him that he was king; that he might rule, and that the only obstacle to his royal will was this favourite, this Italian to whom his mother had confided power. His representations produced the intended effect; the minister became odious to the king, and his removal was resolved upon. This first act of authority by which Louis XIII. announced his intention to reign, was highly characteristic of his irresolute and feeble character. As king, he could refuse to listen to the counsels of the minister chosen by his mother; he could have removed him from his office, or, if he were guilty, have brought him before the bar of the parliament, but this required a resolution which was too great for the firmness of the king; he preferred to recover his power by a miserable intrigue, to gain possession of the reins of state by violence, to plot with the companions of his youth the assassination of the marshal. Accordingly, on the night of the 24th of April, 1617, as D'Ancre was entering the Louvre to visit the queen-regent, the Marquis de Vitry, captain of the king's body-guard, approached the all-powerful minister and informed him that the king wished to see him, at the same time pointing the way in an authoritative manner with his staff. The attendants of the marshal drew their swords, but D'Ancre was immediately shot by pistols in the hands of De Vitry's accomplices, and fell dead upon the drawbridge of the Louvre. At the same instant Colonel D'Ornano, who awaited the issue of the affair in a court of the chateau, announced the death of his victim to the king, who joyfully exclaimed, "Now I am a king indeed; thanks be to God, my enemy is dead."

The death of the marshal was followed by the execution of his consort, and the queen-mother herself was banished to Blois. Luynes now became all-powerful, and rose to the dignity of constable. Richelieu, Bishop of Luçon, shared the disgrace of his patroness, Mary de Medicis; but having contrived to arrange matters between her and the king, he obtained for himself a cardinal's hat, and a place in the privy council, where his great talents soon acquired their proper influence. After the death of Luynes he became prime minister, and had no sooner got the administration into his hands than he commenced putting into execution three mighty projects: viz., to reduce the power of the turbulent French nobles; to abase the rebellious Huguenots; and to resist the encroachments and lessen the influence of Austria. His first step was to nego-

tiate a treaty of marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII., in order to preserve amicable relations with England. He also negotiated between the two crowns and the United Provinces a treaty of alliance, which brought on hostilities with Spain. For a time, Richelieu found his attention confined almost solely to France. Besides the Huguenots, he had a powerful faction at court to oppose. Not one prince of the blood was his friend; Gaston, duke of Orleans and brother of Louis XIII., was his declared enemy; the queen-mother was jealous of him; and the king himself more attached to him from fear than affection. But he knew how to crush opposition by grappling with it; he triumphed over every obstacle, discovered and dissipated every conspiracy in the very moment of its formation, and finally made himself absolute master of the king and the kingdom.

Returning to Germany, we find Christian of Denmark unable to withstand the superior forces which the Emperor and the League were able to bring into the field. Wallenstein marched with his new army, in the autumn of 1625, through Suabia and Franconia into Lower Saxony, routed a body of armed peasantry near Göttingen, and advanced to the districts of Halberstadt and Magdeburg. More serious occurrences marked the campaign of 1626. Mansfeld marched along the Elbe against Wallenstein, was defeated on the bridge of Dessau, and then boldly directed his course towards Silesia, in order to join Bethlen Gabor and carry the war into the Austrian dominions, whither Wallenstein, to his great regret, was forced to follow him. After a most harassing and difficult march he arrived in Hungary, but he was badly received there, inasmuch as he had not brought with him the sums of money expected by the prince. Pursued by Wallenstein, his retreat cut off, and without the means of procuring supplies in such a remote country, he was forced to sell his artillery and ammunition, and disband his soldiers. Then crossing Bosnia and Dalmatia, he proceeded with a small suite towards Venice. Thence he intended to repair to England, in order to procure the money which was necessary to his future operations. But on arriving at the village of Urakowitz, near Zara, his nature sank beneath the superhuman struggles and fatigues he had to encounter, and he breathed his last on the 20th of November, 1626, in the forty-sixth year of his age. When the noble warrior felt the approach of death, he caused himself to be clothed in his military coat and his arms, and thus equipped, standing supported by the arms of two friends, he patiently awaited the final moment of his mortal career.

In the same year his friend, Duke Christian of Brunswick, also died, and thus the Protestants were deprived of their best leaders. Christian of Denmark was unable to replace them, for in him were wanting all that warlike spirit and energy so necessary in a commander. Thus, though Lower Saxony was greatly relieved by the retreat of Wallenstein, King Christian was unable to defend it against Tilly; but was completely defeated by him on the 27th of August, at Lutter, near Barenberg, in Hanover, and lost all his artillery,



CHRISTIAN OF DENMARK ENTERING WOLFENBUTTEL.

together with sixty ensigns.* Christian narrowly escaped with his life: attended by thirty wounded and bleeding officers, he fled from the field, and late in the afternoon of the battle day arrived, despairing and exhausted, at Wolfenbittel.

In 1627, Wallenstein marched back through Silesia, crossed Brandenburg and Muhlenberg, and with Tilly entered Holstein, in order to force Christian of Denmark to abandon Germany altogether. The whole of that country, Silesia and Jutland, were overrun and fearfully devastated, and Christian was forced to take refuge in his islands. Wallenstein also increased his immense private possessions by purchasing from the Emperor the duchy of Sagan and the territory of Priebus in Silesia.

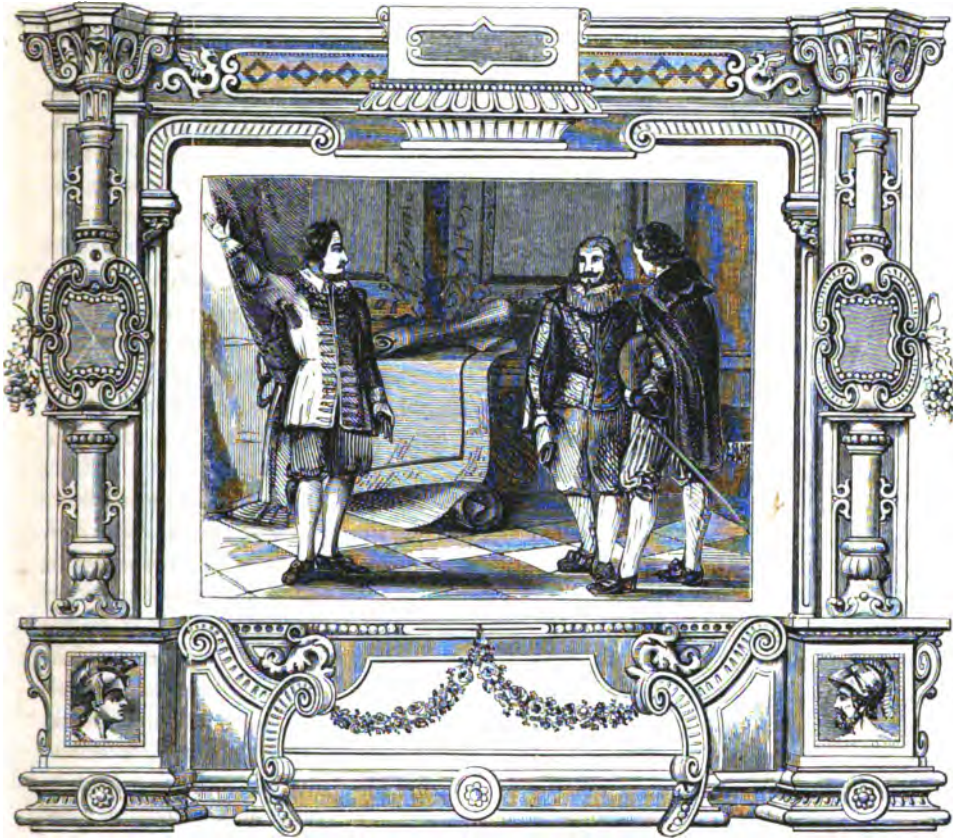
* Kohlrausch.
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Wallenstein, considering his victories as steps to still more brilliant grandeur, had gradually increased his army to 100,000 men, and he continued by enlistments to swell this already superior force; an unexampled military band for that age, a fearful multitude for the countries which were doomed to its support. Under pretext of the Danish war, Wallenstein began to take a firm position on the shores of the Baltic, and besieged the well fortified city of Stralsund. Mecklenberg had been previously conquered, the dukes of this country put under the ban of the empire for their alliance with the King of Denmark, and Wallenstein received Mecklenberg in consideration of the debt due him from the Emperor. He thus became a prince of the empire.

Well garrisoned and provisioned, the citizens of Stralsund boldly bid him defiance, and resisted his attacks with determined courage and perseverance. Wallenstein swore to compass the fall of the city; he advanced in person against it, and repeatedly assaulted the walls; but the citizens taught him to respect their invincible courage; and after having remained several weeks before the walls, and lost twelve thousand men in his many desperate assaults, he was forced to withdraw without accomplishing his object.

By his imprudence and excess, Ferdinand now precipitated himself from the summit of victory and power to which his generals had raised him, and became the author of a renewed war, which added nineteen years to the eleven which had already spread fire and the sword over Germany. At the solicitation of the Jesuits, he published the famous edict of restitution, commanding the Protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical benefices of which they had taken possession since the treaty of Passau, in 1552. All the Protestant princes would lose considerably in power and wealth if the edict were put into execution. Hence there was a general outcry against the Emperor and his edict. Some submitted, others remonstrated; the Protestants were completely paralyzed, the Catholics filled with exultation. Imperial commissioners were sent to decide on the claims of the bishops and monks to restitution; the execution of the decree was intrusted to Wallenstein, whose intolerable tyranny produced increasing indignation, and excited the complaints and murmurs of both parties. The army of Wallenstein spread universal ruin, respecting as it did neither friends nor foes, Catholics nor Protestants. Right and justice were everywhere violated, and the Emperor's own brother, Leopold, wrote him a long letter, in which he gave a dreadful and harrowing description of the pillage, burnings, murderous outrages, and other shameful oppressions inflicted by the imperial troops upon the peaceful inhabitants.

Ferdinand could not resist the unanimous voice of complaint thus urged, and as now the whole body of princes, headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, insisted that Wallenstein should be deprived of the chief command, he gave his consent to their wishes, and conferred that office upon Tilly. The problem was now to be solved whether the proud and mighty chief would obey the summons, or turn his victorious arms against his former allies. To the surprise of all he yielded, saying that he "by no means complained against or reproached the Emperor, for the stars had already indicated to him that the



WALLENSTEIN DISMISSED

spirit of the Elector of Bavaria held its sway over that of the Emperor; but in discharging his troops, his imperial majesty was rejecting the most precious jewel of his crown." He now withdrew to his duchy of Friedland, establishing his seat of government at Gitschen, which he considerably enlarged and beautified. (A. D. 1630.)*

The Emperor speedily repented of this step. The danger which hovered over the Protestant church, and the attempt of Wallenstein to strengthen and extend the cause of Austria and Catholicism by usurping the coast of the Baltic, brought upon the grand scene of this eventful period the great Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Secretly urged by some of the discontented Protestant princes, he published a declaration of war against the Emperor, and, after having captured the important island of Rugen, landed in Germany. (A. D. 1630.)

* Sporschil's Dreissigjährige Krieg.

For a while the princes of the empire hesitated to unite with him in defence of their religion, but a terrible catastrophe hastened their decision. The city of Magdeburg, which from the commencement had shown great zeal in the cause of the reformed religion, was now the first to throw herself into the arms of the preserver of religious liberty. They urgently invited him to direct his march towards the Elbe, promised to throw open their gates to him, and enlisted a number of soldiers for his service. Gustavus, who perceived the great importance of such a grand depot, accepted their offers with eagerness, and immediately proceeded to meet their wishes.

Tilly, however, was equally aware of the advantage which Gustavus would derive from the occupation of this city, and used all diligence to make himself master of it before the king's arrival. Seconded by his brave general Pappenheim, he laid siege to it in March, 1631, and succeeded in taking it by storm, after a siege of six weeks, May 10th. Pappenheim led the assault. He succeeded in mounting the rampart, while the brave commandant Falkenberg was shot dead as he hastened to the point of danger. Abandoning the walls, the citizens hurried to their homes, and there defended themselves by firing from the windows upon the enemy, while the females threw stones and other missiles from the roofs of the houses. The conquerors showed no mercy to the people. Men, women, and children, the aged and the young, all were massacred alike; the very infants at the breast being seized, stabbed, and hurled into the flames which consumed the city: the scene being protracted from ten o'clock in the morning during the whole day and night. Every possible cruelty, and torments of every description were resorted to on this dreadful day; the insatiable soldiers devoting all their energies to the performance of the sanguinary work. Some of the officers, touched with compassion, repaired to Tilly, who had remained in the camp, and requested him to issue orders for the cessation of carnage, but he replied, "No, no! let them go on for another hour, and then come to me again; the men must have some reward for their dangers and fatigue." By ten in the evening, all that remained of this ancient and magnificent city was the cathedral, one convent, and a few stray fishermen's cabins on the Elbe; all else was a pile of cinders. Thirty thousand human beings had been sacrificed to appease the wrath of Tilly: a name henceforth never mentioned but with malediction, never hereafter coupled with glory or good fortune. On the fourteenth of May, Tilly rode through the smoking city and caused the *Te Deum* to be sung in the cathedral. To the Emperor he wrote, that since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem such a siege had not been witnessed. He spoke the truth. One of the richest and greatest cities of Germany had been annihilated; more than six thousand bodies were floating in the Elbe, and but four hundred of the whole population remained. Yet in the cathedral was sung the *Te Deum*.

This unhappy day at Magdeburg, with Tilly's invasion of Saxony, decided the wavering Protestants. They entered themselves without reserve as allies of Gustavus, and concluded with him a firm alliance, offensive and defensive. The rulers of Pomerania, Brandenburg, Hesse, and Saxony, all acceded to the

league, and Richelieu, who had actively shared in the formation of the original plan, secured for the confederates the co-operation of France. Strengthened by the accession of these new allies, Gustavus marched to the relief of Leipsic, determined to stake the war upon a single battle, and by a grand action secure the esteem and confidence of Germany. Tilly advanced to meet him, and the enemies encountered each other in the fields of the village of Breitenfeld, September 7th, 1631. Tilly began the battle in the full confidence of success, and the bad conduct of the Saxons appeared for a time to have lost the young king the victory. The charge of the imperialists overthrew them, and they fled from the field. At the same time Pappenheim, the best cavalry officer of his day, threw himself with the élité of his command on the right wing of the Swedes; but Banner opposed to his attacks an invulnerable wall, and seven times repulsed his efforts to break the line. Having abandoned the pursuit of the Saxons, Tilly directed his attack upon the uncovered flank of the Swedes; but the royal hero averted the danger by his skilful movements, and the imperialists expended their fury in vain against their invincible enemy. The new management of war practised by Gustavus completely baffled his aged adversary; he saw his plans and calculations fail of success; for the first time in his life his confidence deserted him, and his mortification at having met with a superior genius embarrassed his actions. Gustavus noticed his hesitation; with the rapidity of thought he made an attack upon the enemy's artillery, and Tilly was recalled to himself by the necessity of covering his troops from the fire of their own guns. But the battle was decided; the ranks of the imperialists were already in disorder, were routed; 7000 lay dead on the field of battle, and Tilly himself was in great danger. A Swedish cavalry captain struck him several times on the head with the handle of his pistol, and would have killed him had he himself not been shot by an imperial officer. The imperial general escaped with several wounds, and, exhausted in body and dejected in spirits, reached Halle, where he was joined by Pappenheim and the miserable remains of his army. One thousand Swedes and two thousand Saxons had fallen.*

This victory, says Kohlrausch, proved for Gustavus the grand foundation upon which was based his reputation as a warrior throughout Germany, and from that moment was excited that veneration—almost amounting to adoration—for his person and character. For this was a period, as in all extraordinary epochs of history, when, properly speaking, public opinion was all-powerful; when the faith, confidence, respect, and enthusiasm produced in the minds of the people by the actions of one man, were sufficient to establish him in their favour; and whoever knew how to avail himself of this moral force must be certain of success. All now turned towards the star thus ascending from the north; and he was enthusiastically received by zealots both in religious and superstitious faith. Prophecies, miracles, and dreams were all made to refer to the great Gustavus; and wherever he appeared, the Protestants received him as their deliverer with indescribable transports of joy, and truly, during the

* Kohlrausch. Sporschil. Rotteck.



TILLY MORTALLY WOUNDED.

whole period of the world's existence, the royal presence of a king was never so gratefully honoured and revered as was that of the heroic and nobly-born champion of the Protestant faith, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.

All the members of the Evangelical Union joined the victorious hero ; the measures of the League were disconcerted, and the whole country between the Elbe and the Rhine, a hundred leagues, full of fortified towns, occupied with Protestant forces. Gustavus knew well how to profit by victory, a knowledge often more valuable than that of conquering. From the Rhine he turned back to the east, in order to make Bavaria, where the dangerous Maximilian ruled, feel the scourge of war. Tilly, who had assembled another army, more numerous than that of Gustavus, disputed with him the passage of the Lech. But every thing yielded to the arms of the youthful warrior, and he crossed the river in spite of all opposition. Tilly was wounded in the knee by a cannon ball in the beginning of the action, and fell from his horse ; he was conveyed to Ingolstadt, followed by Maximilian. After taking possession of Augsburg, Gustavus formed the siege of that place, which defended itself bravely. Tilly encouraged the garrison until his death, which happened twenty-five days after he received his wound. He was in the seventy-third year of his age, of middle height, and very thin, strongly resembling the Duke of Alva, under whom he had served in the Netherlands. He was a stern, iron-hearted man, who boasted

that he had never known the feeling of love or affection; yet he possessed a firm and incorruptible character and undoubted abilities as a general.

In his distress, the Emperor now had recourse to Wallenstein, whom he restored to command with unlimited powers. As soon as he had planted his banner, a powerful army arose, as if by magic, around this formidable chief. Within three months he was at the head of a stronger force than that which Tilly commanded at Leipsic, 40,000 men ready for battle. He moved with uncommon slowness, first drove the Saxons out of Bohemia, and then turned his arms against Gustavus, who hastily entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg. Wallenstein, at the head of sixty thousand men, constructed a strongly fortified camp in sight of the city. After three months spent in watching his adversary, Gustavus determined to attack him; but he stormed his entrenchments the whole day until nightfall in vain, and was obliged to retire with great loss. August 24, 1632. Anxious to retrieve his fame, the Swedish monarch sought occasion to decide the campaign by a great action, and accordingly offered battle at Lutzen. About eleven o'clock in the morning, after a short prayer, the king mounted his horse and led his troops to the front of the imperialists, who were well entrenched on the paved road from Lutzen to Leipsic, and stationed in the deep trenches on each side. A deadly cannonade saluted the Swedes; but they marched boldly forward, leaped the trench, and forced Wallenstein's troops to retreat.

Meanwhile Pappenheim had arrived at the scene of action with his cavalry, and the battle was renewed with fury. The Swedish infantry retired behind the trenches, and Gustavus hastened to the spot with a company of horse to render them assistance. He rode at full speed considerably in advance, to observe the force of the enemy; a few of his attendants only, and Francis, duke of Saxe Lauenburg, following him. His short-sightedness led him too near a squadron of the imperial cavalry; he received a shot in his arm, so that he nearly fell to the ground powerless, and just as he was turning round to be led away from the scene, he was shot a second time in the back. He fell from his horse, which had likewise been shot in the neck, and was dragged by the stirrup some distance along the ground. The master of the horse in the service of the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg immediately killed the cavalier who had fired the last shot; but the duke himself, it would seem, abandoned his royal cousin upon a charge of Piccolomini's cuirassiers. A faithful page, Leubelfing, endeavoured to raise his master up, but he was himself shot. The imperial horsemen then killed the king with several wounds, and plundered his body, but the page survived till five days after the battle. The wounded horse of the king returning without his master, brought to his friends the sad news of his fall, and incited them to revenge his death. Under the heroic Duke Bernard of Weimar, they rallied, and pushed forward over the trenches upon the ranks of the enemy. Their desire for revenge prompted them to superhuman efforts, which the imperialists were totally unable to withstand; Piccolomini, covered with blood, had a fourth horse killed under him, and the great Pappenheim fell, mortally wounded. The ranks of the imperialists were broken, the



DEATH OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

cry "We are lost! Pappenheim is dead! the Swedes are upon us!" resounded through the field, and Wallenstein ordered a retreat, leaving his artillery in possession of the victors. A thick fog and the approach of night only prevented the Swedes from pursuit; but they spent the night on the field of battle.

Wallenstein marched into Bohemia, instead of wintering in Saxony, as he had intended; thus in deed acknowledging the Swedes to be victorious, whilst in a letter to the Emperor he represented the battle as undecided, and Ferdinand ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in all his cities. On the day following, the Swedes searched among the thousands which strewed the wide battle field for the body of their beloved king: it was at length found among many others, so disfigured by the hoofs of horses, and covered with the blood which issued from eleven wounds, as scarcely to be recognised. Thus terminated the career of this Alexander of his age. An impartial adventurer, Count Gualdo, a Venetian and a Catholic, who spent many years in the imperial and Swedish armies, thus describes the glory of Sweden. Gustavus was tall, stout, and of such a truly royal demeanour, that he universally commanded veneration, admiration,

love, and fear. His hair and beard were of a light brown colour, his eye large, but rather near-sighted. War had great charms for him, and from his earliest youth honour and glory were his passion. Eloquence dwelt upon his tongue. He spoke, in addition to the German, the native language of his mother, the Swedish, Latin, French, and Italian languages; and his discourse was ever agreeable and lively. There never was a general who was served with so much cheerfulness and devotion as Gustavus. He was of an affable and friendly disposition, readily expressed commendation, and noble actions were indelibly fixed in his memory; on the other hand, excessive politeness and flattery he hated, and if any person approached him in this way, he never trusted him.



MONUMENT TO GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,
NEAR LUTZEN.

The death of Gustavus produced great changes in the political state of Europe. Frederic, the elector-palatine, believing all his hopes of restoration blighted, died broken-hearted; the Protestant confederates, deprived of a head, soon split into factions; and the Swedes, overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their beloved sovereign, saw his throne filled by a princess but seven years of age. But the council of regency appointed to protect the minority of the young Queen Christina, intrusted the management of the German war to the chancellor Oxenstiern, a statesman of the highest order. The regent kept the allies of Sweden together with great energy and ability, gave a formidable aspect to the Protestant alliance, and by means of his able generals, the duke of Saxe Weimar, Banner, and Horn, prosecuted hostilities with vigour and success.

A totally unexpected event added to the confidence of the allies; the removal of the terrible Wallenstein from the scene of action. Since his retreat to Bohemia he had remained inactive, maturing his plans for his own advancement. He was suspected of aiming at sovereign power by Ferdinand, who certainly appears to have had grounds for his suspicions. The powerful warrior, ruled by astrological visions, needed only resolution to accomplish whatever he might purpose, but he suffered the favourable moment to escape, and the Emperor discovered his designs. The danger was urgent; the Emperor timid; Wallenstein stood surrounded with the thunders of war, and Ferdinand dared not attempt to bring him to a legal trial. The Emperor therefore had recourse to the dishonourable expedient of assassination.

It was determined to include in his fall his brother-in-law, Count Kinsky, and his brave and devoted friends, the field-marsals Illo and Terzka. The great victim was meanwhile tormented by attacks of the gout, to such an extent, that he was obliged to have pieces of raw flesh cut out of the excoriated foot, at the very time that he was almost impelled to throw himself at once into the arms of the Union, by the ill-concealed hostility of his immediate enemies. Piccolomini declared against him, and advanced towards Pilsen, where Wallenstein was posted. He quitted that place, however, on the 22d of February, accompanied by only ten followers, and borne along in a litter, suffering excruciatingly from his disease. At the end of the second day's journey he reached the citadel of Eger, where he took up his quarters in the market-place, in the house of the burgomaster, Pechhelbel. On the following evening, Terzka, Illo, and Kinsky proceeded to the citadel to sup with Colonel Gordon, the commandant. While they were at table, thirty dragoons, commanded by Captains Devereux and Geraldin, suddenly burst into the hall from the ante-room, and falling on their victims pierced them to death.

Immediately after the completion of this deed, Devereux led a party of his assassins to complete the work by slaying Wallenstein. The general had been engaged with his astrologer Seni, who announced to him that the danger which impended over him had not yet passed; but he nevertheless dismissed the reader of the stars, and laid himself upon his bed. Directly Devereux, with six of his miscreants, entered the house, unchecked by the guard, who supposed that he came with reports for Wallenstein. An outcry in the street aroused the noble warrior. He rose from his bed, opened the window, heard from the next house the wailing of the Countesses Terzka and Kinsky, who had just learned the fate of their husbands, and inquired its cause from the sentinel. At that moment the murderer Devereux stood at the door of the chamber. The sentry, when he entered the outer passage with his assassins, had placed his finger on his lips as a sign for him to make no noise, as the general slept. The ruffian cried out, "Friend, this is the time for noise," and demanded the key of the door. It was however locked from within. They commenced a vigorous assault upon it, broke it in pieces, and rushed into the room. The chief stood erect, with his hand resting on a table between the two windows, in complete undress and barefooted, just as he had sprung out of bed. "Art thou the traitor," demanded Devereux, "that wouldst lead the imperialists over to the ranks of the enemy, and tear the crown from the head of his imperial majesty? Thine hour has come." Wallenstein stood calm and still, not deigning to answer. "Thou must die," shouted the murderer a second time. Wallenstein opened his breast, received the fatal blow, sank to the earth, and died without a word, without a groan. Horrified at such an end of the career of their mighty chief, the hardy soldiers stood several minutes pale and speechless, then turned and fled with all speed from the room.*

Thus silent and reserved till the hour of his death, all the profound and

* Sporschil's Dreissigjährige Krieg.



mysterious thoughts and sentiments of his soul remained hidden from the world, and a veil of obscurity was cast over his whole life and actions. He was one of those men whose deep-laid plans and motives it is impossible to fathom, and of whom little or nothing can be said in explanation of their views or ideas. After his death his estates were confiscated, and a large portion of them was transferred to his chief enemies and his murderers. The greater part of his possessions, however, were retained by Ferdinand himself. His landed property alone was estimated to be worth fifty millions of florins. His widow received the principality of Neuschloss, and his daughter Elizabeth, his only surviving child, was shortly afterwards well married. In order to justify the assassination of this prop of his empire, Ferdinand published a voluminous document, containing all the accusations brought against the duke, which for a long time continued to convey the most false and unjust ideas and opinions of the character of that extraordinary man.

Ferdinand, king of Rome and son of the Emperor, succeeded Wallenstein in the chief command, and opened his career with one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. He marched against the Swedish army with a force superior in numbers and discipline, when the aged and prudent Count Horn would have retreated, but his colleague, Bernard of Weimar, with the ardent daring of youth, insisted on making a stand, and receiving the enemy's attack. Accordingly an action took place near Nordlingen in Franconia, in which, owing to their bad position, their reduced numbers, and the misunderstanding between the generals, the Protestants were defeated. They fought eight hours

with the most determined courage, and only yielded when nearly cut to pieces. Twenty thousand of their number were either slain or made prisoners; General Horn himself being a captive. Duke Bernard retreated towards the Rhine with the remainder of his army. Ferdinand followed up his victory by successful negotiation; he concluded a treaty with all the Protestant princes, except the Landgrave of Hesse, at Prague, and thus threw the whole weight of the war upon Sweden and France.

Richelieu ruled the latter country with a rod of iron, alike hated by the nobility and the people, and feared by the king, he nevertheless held firmly the reins of government, and made every attempt to ruin him recoil upon the heads of its originators. Jealousy of Gustavus had prevented him from cordially uniting against Ferdinand: and Oxenstiern was afterwards unwilling to give him any influence in Germany. But the battle of Nordlingen rendered a change of policy necessary. Richelieu had subdued and triumphed over the Protestants by the capture of Rochelle. This end effected, he turned the arms of France against the Emperor of Germany, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, in an attempt to secure the succession of Mantua to the Duke of Nevers. In 1631, the treaty of Chierasio terminated the war, by giving to France its ancient influence in Italy, and several important fortresses on the frontiers, and destroying the Spanish supremacy in the peninsula. The battle of Nordlingen announced the arrival of the moment when he could without fear put into full operation his great plan of crushing Protestantism in France on one hand, while on the other he rendered its advocacy a cloak with which to cover his designs against the power of Austria. Jealousy of Gustavus, whom he suspected of aiming at the sovereignty of Germany, was another motive for action. But the battle of Lutzen having terminated the career of that conqueror, and that of Nordlingen having defeated any ulterior designs which Oxenstiern might have entertained, he thought that he might now proceed to sell the services of France at a dear rate. He accordingly concluded a treaty with Oxenstiern, agreeing to take an active share in the war on condition of receiving possession of Philipsburg and the province of Alsace. He also concluded treaties with the Dutch republic and the Duke of Savoy, proclaimed war against Spain, and in a very short space of time equipped five armies to act at once in Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands. The fortune of war now turned against the imperialists, the Duke of Saxe Weimar carried the arms of Sweden in triumph, and Banner restored their former lustre by a triumphant victory gained over the Elector of Saxony at Wittstock, near Mecklenberg.

Henceforth, however, the war only presents a series of gloomy and disheartening scenes; for wanting as it did a leader of noble genius, influenced by motives of a worthy and honourable nature, its whole character assumed an ignoble and mercenary stamp. The royal hero, whose elevation of soul shed a brilliant lustre over all around him, and who was inspired by his religious faith, combined with the glory and honour of his nation, was now no more; the impenetrable, mysterious, and all-powerful general who alone could venture to make a stand against the forces of Sweden, had also been snatched from the

realization of his dark projects ; while those who now had the command of the imperial armies, although brave and not without distinction, were only second in rank of genius, and wholly incapable of aspiring to the elevated thoughts and feelings of their predecessors. In this war it was egotism alone by which the parties were swayed ; consequently, however remarkable its operations may appear, they must still be regarded in the light of ordinary events. The death of the Emperor Ferdinand II., and the accession of his son Ferdinand III., made little alteration in the state of the war ; the victorious leaders of the confederates invaded the hereditary dominions of Austria, but in the midst of their triumphant career Bernard of Weimar was seized with sudden illness, and died, 18th July, 1639. He was thirty-nine years of age, and the youngest of eight equally brave and warlike brothers. He himself declared his belief that he was poisoned, and his chaplain confirmed this suspicion in the sermon which he preached on the occasion of the funeral. If this were the fact, it is to be attributed to Richelieu, for immediately after the duke's death the army was visited by several French agents, who negotiated for the services of the army, which they purchased for large sums, together with the places in its possession. Three regiments of Swedes alone refused to sell themselves to the French, and they marched out of the place with beat of drum and unfurled banners to join the main body of their army. Thus the valour of the German troops conquered for the French the important fortress of Brisach, with Rhinefeld, Roteln, and Friburg.

Banner, the Swedish general, died in 1641, at Hallerstadt, after committing dreadful devastation in Bohemia and other lands. He sent to Stockholm more than 600 standards which he had taken from the imperialists, and his cruel and merciless conduct caused his campaigns to be more bloody and oppressive than any others during the war. While he was in Bohemia there were often more than one hundred small towns, castles, and villages burnt during the night, and one of his principal officers, Adam Pfuhl, boasted that he had with his own hands set on fire eight hundred different places in that unhappy country. When he himself came to his death-bed in Thuringia, and desired the last services of a minister of religion, so wasted and forlorn was the country that none could be found for many miles.

He was succeeded by Torstenson, who, though so weak in body as to be always carried in a litter, was nevertheless one of the most active generals of the war. Under his command was fought the greatest battle of this last period of the war, on almost the very ground where Gustavus gained the victory of Leipsic.

He had been followed during a retreat by Piccolomini, and determined to rid himself of the presence of his enemy by a desperate effort. He attacked the imperialists with fury, and Piccolomini was defeated, with the loss of 20,000 men, forty-six pieces of artillery, and nearly two hundred ensigns. Torstenson and his successor Wrangel afterwards marched from place to place, spreading terror and devastation over all Germany, and often menacing Vienna itself with a siege. The petty princes gradually concluded armistices with the

invaders; and the Emperor was finally left to contend single-handed with his successful enemies. The French generals Turenne and Condé fought against the imperialists along the Rhine, and enabled Wrangel to subject all Bavaria. The arms of France were equally successful in Spain, where Colioure and Perpignan were reduced. A characteristic anecdote is related of Richelieu, in connection with the fall of Perpignan. The great minister had just detected and punished a conspiracy when this place was taken, and, though on the verge of the grave and scarcely able to hold a pen, he conveyed to Louis the intelligence of both events in the following haughty and laconic note: "Sir, your enemies are dead, and your troops in possession of Perpignan."

The death of Richelieu and his master, Louis XIII., placed upon the throne of France the infant Louis XIV., whose prime-minister was Mazarin, a worthy successor of him whose genius had so ably controlled the destinies of France. He continued the policy which had been founded by Richelieu, the war was resumed with masterly activity, and, after several vicissitudes, the triumph of the confederates was so decided that the Emperor was forced to solicit terms of peace. In 1640, at the diet of Ratisbon, the Emperor had consented that congresses for peace should meet at Munster and Osnaburg, and the preliminaries to such a meeting were signed by the Emperor and the King of Spain in 1643. The changing course of the war, which was actively continued, varied the negotiations, the Emperor, so long as he had any hope of better fortune in war, being very sparing of concessions. The thunders of the Swedish artillery, however, overcame his resistance, and the instruments of peace were signed on October 24, 1648, at Munster.

The demon of the Thirty Years' War, to use the language of a German historian, was finally conjured, but Germany, swimming in blood and covered with ashes, could hardly believe the news that its misery was at an end. The interests of Sweden were regulated at Osnaburg, those of France at Munster; the tenor of both instruments were the same, respecting those conditions which the two crowns insisted on in common, and the whole is known to the world as the peace of Westphalia. It became a fundamental law of the empire, and the basis of many subsequent treaties. By its provisions France obtained the sovereignty of the three archbishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the city of Brisach and its dependencies, the territory of Sundgau, the important fortress of Philipsburg, and as much of Alsace as had belonged to Austria. Besides this, it forced Germany to destroy a great number of fortifications along the Upper Rhine.

Thus all those places which had served as the bulwarks of Southern Germany, fell through this peace into the hands of the hereditary enemy of the empire. The French envoys boasted that France had never concluded a peace upon such advantageous terms. Poor Sweden, however, was represented by John of Oxenstiern, the chancellor's son, a proud but inexperienced statesman, and by Adler Salvius, a man open to bribery. In consequence she was forced to content herself with five millions of crowns, the sees of Bremen and Verdun on the Weser, Western Pomerania and Stettin, the island of Rugen, and the

city of Wismar, in Mecklenberg; a territory the greater part of which was very poor and much devastated. The Elector of Brandenburg, who ought to have received all Pomerania, obtained only the eastern portion of that country; as an indemnification for the remainder, however, he received the archbishopric of Magdeburg, and the bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Kanim, secularized. In like manner the sees of Schwerin and Ratzeburg were erected into lay principalities, and given to the Duke of Mecklenburg in lieu of the city of Wismar. Hesse Cassel, the firm ally of Sweden, though it had suffered no loss, received the abbey of Hersfeld, a portion of the country of Schaumburg, and six hundred thousand rix-dollars.

Thirteen days after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the elector-palatine, Frederic V., had died broken-hearted; his son Charles Lewis, however, supported the claims of his house. The Elector of Bavaria refused to give up the Upper Palatinate and the electoral dignity, and they were confirmed to Maximilian and his descendants. The Lower Palatinate and his other patrimonial estates were restored to Charles Lewis, and in lieu of the fifth electorate a new one was created purposely for him, the eighth. All the other princes and states of the empire were re-established in the lands, rights, and prerogatives which they enjoyed before the troubles of Bohemia in 1619. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire; Spain was forced to acknowledge the independence of the Netherlands, and Germany obliged to free it from all obligation of fealty.

In regard to religion, the pacification of Passau was confirmed in its fullest extent; and it was agreed that the Calvinists should enjoy the same privileges as the Lutherans. The Catholics and Protestants, comprehended as two religious bodies, were to stand in relation to each other in equilibrium as to powers and rights. The imperial tribunals and the deputations of the empire were therefore to be composed of an equal number of members from the two religious bodies; but in the assemblies of the states, consequently in the imperial diets, this equality being impossible, the decisive power of the majority of votes for religious matters, and in general for cases of separation in respect to religious parties, was to be abolished.

In the instrument of Osnaburg, Spain was expressly designated as an ally of the Emperor and a participant of the peace. It comprised also England, Denmark, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Lorraine, Venice, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Transylvania. Yet the Pope protested against the peace, and war between France and Spain was continued with various success until the treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659.

Thus ended this terrible war, after having endured for one whole generation. Unhappy Germany, overwhelmed by adventurers from all parts of Europe, presented a most sad and mournful picture; everywhere the land was devastated, the cornfields trodden down or lying bare, the towns laid waste, and piles of ruins and ashes where formerly blooming regions had greeted the eye. The unfinished work of the sword had been completed by famine, misery, and disease. In the first years of the war its ravages were so extensive and

destructive in the greatest part of the empire, that the general misery seemed intolerable; subsequently it scourged also those countries previously spared, and accumulated a measure of wretchedness over all for which language has no expression. Hundreds of thousands had perished on the field of battle, but these were taken off in moments of enthusiastic ardour, while the victims were enjoying the whole force of their vital power, and their destruction cannot be regarded as the greatest evil of the war. But the more lingering and painful sufferings which came in the train of the war, contagion, plague, famine, and all the attendant horrors,—these horrors and miseries which left its victims to the anxious and painful contemplation of the gradual approach of death,—which overwhelmed those who could take no active share in the movements of the age, women, children, and old men,—which cut off all the enjoyments, all the hopes of life, and infused into the germ of a new generation a principle at once poisonous and destructive of strength and courage,—these formed the curse of the war, and destroyed two-thirds of the entire population. Germany, drenched with blood and filled with ruins, was in danger of falling into complete barbarism, or becoming a great desert. This was the effect of the manner of carrying on the war, which Mansfeld first put into practice, afterwards brought by Wallenstein to a most fearful extension, and observed after him by all the other chief generals. War itself was made to support war, and friend and enemy consumed the substance of the land with boundless profusion. Leaders and soldiers, personally uninterested in the cause, brought from other lands to wage war for pay and for plunder, neglected no opportunity of demanding plunder and pleasure as a reward for their labours. The traces of the devastation then effected are still found in many regions of the land, and the eclipse which Germany has suffered from the other states of Europe in refinement, welfare, and art, may safely be attributed to the sufferings of the Thirty Years' War.

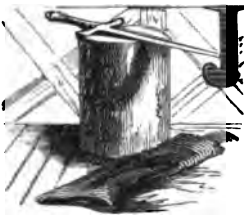




CHARLES I.

CHAPTER V.

The English Revolution.



JAMES I. of England died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I., who was now twenty-five years of age. One of the first acts of the young king was the formation of an alliance with France, by marrying the princess Henrietta Maria, the Catholic daughter of Henry IV. of France. This was an unfortunate step, inasmuch as the two eldest sons of the king and queen, though educated in the Protestant faith, were so influenced by their mother that they ultimately became Catholics, a result which led to the final expulsion of the house of Stuart from the throne, in the person of James II. Besides this, the proposed marriage of Charles with Mary, the infanta of Spain, being broken off abruptly, Britain was thrown into a war with that country, and the king soon after embarked in a needless conflict with France. To supply the expenses of these continental wars, the king had recourse to Parliament, but was met there by so many complaints about his government, and by such strong demonstrations of that ardent desire for civil liberty which the imprudence of his father had awakened, that he deemed it necessary to revive the system of benevolences. This was an expedient which had been resorted to by other sovereigns, particularly by Elizabeth, of compelling the subjects to grant to

the sovereign gifts, or, as they were called, *benevolences*, and also to furnish ships for carrying on war, at their own charge. Such a measure could hardly be tolerated in the age of Charles; and his attempt to revive it spread discontent. The commons, fearing that the king would become independent of the parliament, embraced every opportunity to embarrass his measures; assailed the arbitrary rights he had assumed, and presented him with a Petition of Right, or second Magna Charta, for replacing and permanently fixing the privileges of the people, particularly their exemption from arbitrary taxes and imprisonment. With great difficulty the king was prevailed upon to give his sanction to this bill, A. D. 1628; but he soon after became so incensed at the opposition of the parliament, that he dissolved it, and resolved never to assemble another until he saw signs of a more compliant disposition in the nation. (1629.) He governed from this time for eleven years without a parliament, in the most arbitrary manner, and with continual violations of constitutional laws. He supplied the want of parliamentary subsidies by arbitrary imposts, among which the ship money has become the most famous, through the patriotic opposition of John Hampden; and he resorted to every kind of extortion, especially by fines, by granting odious monopolies, and by forced loans.

The unpopularity of Buckingham, the royal favourite, had been a great source of trouble. About the time of the dissolution of parliament, Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth, and the king resolved to be in a great degree his own minister. The political animosities were not a little aggravated by religious disputes. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was wrested from the Papal See, the people of England had submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince, and all affairs relative to the government of the church and the public conscience were subject to the absolute will of the king. Under the direction of the crown, an ecclesiastical tribunal, the High Commission Court, was instituted, and conformity to the established ceremonies was enforced by its judges by fines and imprisonment.

There existed in the church, as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, a religious sect which pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. They frequented no dissenting congregations, because uniformity of religion was esteemed absolutely necessary to the support of all government. But they maintained that they themselves were the only pure church, that their principles ought to be established by law, and that none others should be tolerated. They thought the English reformation incomplete, and, deeming that the errors of the Romish church had not been wholly forsaken, they wished for the simpler forms of worship which Calvin and his immediate followers had established in Germany, and to which his illustrious disciple, John Knox, had converted almost all Scotland. Many of the Puritans, as these reformers were called, had more justifiable reasons for their discontent. Regarding the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the monarch as dangerous to civil liberty, they desired to transfer a portion of the royal authority to parliament. A small sect, called the Arminians, had also appeared in England, which rejected the doctrines of predestination and absolute decrees, and, in return for the royal favour, incul-



COSTUME OF A PURITAN.

cated passive obedience and unconditional submission to princes. Hence the preachers of these doctrines came to be regarded by the patriots of the house of parliament as no better than Popish priests, and both were voted enemies to the state.

The ministers of Charles were of a character to increase the difficulties under which he laboured. The chief of these were Wentworth, earl of Strafford, and Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; the first, doubly odious as a deserter from the popular party; the second, who directed the ecclesiastical and many civil affairs, a man of learning and virtue, but a high churchman, zealously set on the exaltation of the priesthood, and on imposing on the obstinate Puritans, by the most rigorous measures, new ceremonies and observances unknown to the church of England. Under the influence of these unworthy servants, and in direct violation of the petition of right, Charles levied tonnage, poundage, and other taxes, suspended the penal laws against Catholics upon the payment of a stipulated sum, and gave such extensive jurisdiction to the arbitrary tribunals, the

Star Chamber and the High Commission, that the ordinary constitutional administration of justice almost entirely ceased.

While England was agitated by these innovations, a formidable outbreak was produced in Scotland by an attempt of Laud to introduce there a liturgy similar to that used in the church of England. "The Solemn League and Covenant," a bond of confederation for the preservation of the national religion, was concluded by the Scots, and the episcopate which Laud would have forced upon them was formally rejected by the synods of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Richelieu, an enemy to Protestants nowhere but in France, encouraged the Covenanters and supplied them with money. Charles, fearful of the result of a war, was forced to conclude a treaty with the Covenanters at Berwick, which proved merely a suspension of hostilities. His misfortunes had now fairly commenced; his civil and religious tyranny rallied all his enemies under one sacred banner and overthrew his throne. Destitute of resources, the king called a parliament, hoping that it would support him in the suppression of the Scottish rebellion, and grant him the necessary supplies. But this parliament acted in the spirit of those which preceded it, and was dissolved in like manner. The Scotch invaded England, and defeated the disaffected army of Charles, who called a fifth parliament, famous in history as the Long or Bloodthirsty Parliament. This body had no sooner assembled than it raised a series of complaints against the king and his ministers. Wentworth, earl of Strafford, was accused of high treason, and condemned by both houses, the consent of the less passionate upper house being extorted by the menaces of the seditious

populace. In like manner, the reluctance of the king to sacrifice his favourite was overcome by his fears, and Strafford, after a resolute defence before the tribunal of his enemies, was led to execution.



At the same time Laud was arrested and imprisoned, and Charles forced to sign a bill which deprived him of the right to dissolve parliament. A formidable insurrection in Ireland added to the confusion; political wrongs, unfeelingly inflicted, were ferociously avenged, and the massacre of an immense number of Protestants read to Charles an awful lesson of the effects which oppressive laws produce on the human passions.

The troubles in Ireland were artfully employed by parliament to increase the hatred against the king, who was represented as the author of scenes which he really deplored and abhorred. In 1642, parliament presented to him a paper called the "Remonstrance of the State," drawn up with much bitterness, and containing a long list of grievances, old and new, real and pretended. This, being spread among the people, increased the fire; the position of the king daily became worse, and he resolved upon war. He set up his standard at Nottingham, having inscribed on it the words, "Give unto Cæsar his due." He was supported by many of the nobility and gentry, more skilled in arms than the parliamentary troops. But the merchants, yeomen and farmers, the sinews of the country, joined with his enemies. The parliamentary party had also the advantage of enthusiasm and numbers; it had the capital, the great cities, the ports, and the fleet. In the counties of the north and west, the royalists held sway; in those of the east, middle, and south-east, more populous and rich, the parliament ruled. Such was the commencement of those terrible wars of Cavaliers and Roundheads, as the court party and the Puritans were respectively designated, the former from the rank of their leaders, and the latter from their fashion of wearing the hair closely cropped.

The supreme command of the parliamentary troops was at first conferred upon the Earl of Essex, the son of Elizabeth's favourite and victim. Next to Charles, the chief royalist commander was his nephew, Prince Rupert, a brave, able, and rash soldier of fortune, whose unscrupulous conduct, which would better have befitted a bandit than an honourable warrior, caused him to be known among the English people by the name of Prince Robber. On Sunday, the 23d of October, 1642, the combatants first met fairly in the field of battle at the base of Edgehill, in Warwickshire. That part of the royalist army which was commanded by Prince Rupert defeated their immediate opponents, and the prince led his followers in pursuit entirely out of the battle field as far as a neighbouring village, which they began to plunder. Meanwhile Essex, with the

right wing of the parliamentary troops, had continued the fight with such success that Charles saw his main body—the defenders of his standard—routed. They fled precipitately away, leaving the standard in the hands of the enemy, and many of their best officers wounded or prisoners. The royalists, however, rallied on the top of the hill until Prince Rupert returned with his admirable soldiers, flushed with booty and conquest. He had now to sustain an impetuous attack from the forces which he had supposed to be totally defeated. In this indecisive manner ended the first contest of the civil war, at a cost of no less than four thousand lives.

Many influential men now strove to effect an accommodation; and they were so far successful as to obtain a suspension of hostilities on the part of the parliamentarians. But Charles, whose bad faith eventually proved his ruin, used the opportunity thus afforded him for treachery by attempting to surprise London. In the early part of 1643, the shires lying in the neighbourhood of the metropolis were incessantly annoyed by Rupert and his cavalry. Essex had extended his lines so far that every part was vulnerable, and the active and enterprising prince surprised posts, burned villages, swept away cattle, and was beyond the reach of pursuit before a force sufficient to encounter him could be assembled. Essex was politically timid, and conducted his military operations under the feeling that a great victory was scarcely less to be dreaded than a defeat. But Hampden, who had possessed boundless influence in parliament, now commanded a regiment in the field, and afforded a striking contrast to the sluggishness of his superior by his bold and rapid movements. In the council he had shown that no man better knew how to value and how to practise moderation; in the field he laboured to teach his fellow-soldiers that the essence of war is violence, and that moderation in war is imbecility. In the language of Clarendon, when he drew the sword, he threw away the scabbard. The troops loudly condemned the languid proceedings of Essex, and all the eager and daring spirits in the parliamentary army were eager to have Hampden at their head. Had his life been prolonged, the supreme command, in all probability, would have been intrusted to him. But, in the words of a contemporary, it was decreed that at this conjuncture, England should lose the only man who united perfect disinterestedness to eminent talents; the only man who, being capable of gaining the victory for her, was incapable of abusing that victory when gained.

On the 17th of June, Rupert left Oxford on a predatory excursion; on the morning of the following day he dispersed a party of parliamentary troops at Postcombe, then flew to Chinnor, burned the village, killed or captured all the troops who were posted there, and prepared to hurry back with his booty and prisoners to Oxford. Hampden had notified Essex of the impending danger, and he now requested that general to send a force to cut off the retreat of the invaders, while he marched at once to meet them. At Chalgrove he encountered the royalists, and a fierce skirmish ensued, in which Hampden was mortally wounded by two bullets. His troops gave way when he fell, and Rupert returned unmolested to the king's head-quarters at Oxford. The last hours of Hampden were devoted to the dictation of letters to the authorities,

warning them of the errors which they were committing, and conjuring them to exhibit a more active and resolute spirit. The grief and alarm of his party at his loss was most signal ; it was a greater blow than the defeat of their army in the north by Newcastle, which almost immediately followed. He had left none his like behind him ; no man so religious, none possessed of that prudence, judgment, valour, temper, and integrity which so eminently characterized him.

Yet there still remained in his party a man, Oliver Cromwell, the cousin of Hampden, in whom that statesman had long since discovered, under a coarse and extravagant exterior, talents so great and commanding, that they were destined to gain for their possessor the admiration of all Europe ; talents equal to all the highest duties of the soldier and the prince. Throughout the whole of his career he was characterized by a majesty of demeanour, which is indelibly impressed upon all his portraits, and which was the result of confidence in his powers, derived from the test of experience, and the influence of the lofty position he attained. Shortly before the present time he is thus described by the royalist, Sir Philip Warwick. " I came one morning into the House, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, (whom I knew not,) very ordinarily appressed ; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor ; his linen was plain, and not very clean ; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar ; his hat was without a hat-band ; his stature was of a good size ; his sword stuck close to his side ; his countenance swollen and reddish ; his voice sharp and untunable ; and his eloquence full of fervour."

Such was Oliver Cromwell, who now, emerging from an obscure position in the parliamentary army, came upon the stage, and quickly brought a change over the aspect of affairs. The mere military men of the day were strangely bewildered by his successes. He had had no previous experience in warfare ; had not made it his study ; had no particular taste for it. He was besides a man of mature age, forty-three, and could no longer be supposed to possess that plastic quality of mind which readily adapts itself to an entirely new state of things. But he nevertheless trained his own regiment into such a state of military perfection, that the bravest and most skilful royalist troops were unable to compete with it ; checked the victorious army of Newcastle, scattered like chaff the levies that were coming to the earl's assistance ; gained a victory near Grantham, and saved the parliamentary general, Willoughby, from destruction at Gainsborough ; all in his first brief campaign. Superior numbers, however, arrested his progress, and compelled him to retreat. The queen in the west, Newcastle in the north, and Charles himself in Oxford and the surrounding midland districts, supported the royal cause with marked success. The tide of fortune soon changed. Fifteen hundred of the royalists fell in a defeat which the king's party suffered at Newbury, among them many officers of rank, and a still greater calamity was an act brought about by the exertions of the patriot, Sir Harry Vane, the merging of the National Covenant of the Scots into the Solemn League and Covenant, by which the English parliamentarians and the Scotch covenanters were united.

While the negotiations for this treaty were in progress, Pym, who had for a long time been the leader of parliament, sunk under the weight of his labours. His exertions for some time before his death often left him scarcely three hours



of the four-and-twenty for repose. He had firmly supported the rights and franchise of the Commons in the parliaments of 1614 and 1620, and the ground which he then took as a public man he never deserted for a moment during a political life of thirty years. So great was the influence which had fallen to him, both in the senate and with the people, that he was generally known to the royalists by the sarcastic appellation of King Pym. He early acquired a perfect knowledge of the forms of parliamentary proceedings; and added to the efficiency of a ready and powerful elocution, the confidence inspired by his various information, by his broad and deliberate views of public questions, his firmness of purpose, and his high moral

courage. His style was free from the conceits and quaintness of the age, rising at times to the tone of a commanding eloquence, but characterized generally by that simplicity, directness, and nervous solemnity of expression which are so natural to a man in earnest. On his death-bed he expressed great anxiety that peace should be restored, but on such terms only as might be consistent with the liberties of the people.

But while the parliament strengthened itself by uniting with the Scots, Charles was not less diligent in seeking assistance from Ireland. He detached a portion of the Irish army that it might come to his aid, and also obtained supplies from that country to the amount of thirty thousand pounds, partly in money and partly in provisions. As, however, the great mass, both of his adherents and his opponents, had a special horror of "papists," the Irish reinforcement did him more harm than good. They had been scarcely six weeks in the country when Fairfax fell upon them, killing two hundred and making prisoners of fifteen hundred others. The defection of many of the English adherents of royalty in the north was the immediate consequence of the Irish interference.

No monarch ever had more ardent and devoted followers than Charles I.; but he asked too much when he required that they should run all risks of life and fortune for the maintenance of one abstract principle, that was precious to him, while he violated others that were even dearer to them. The most determined royalist put his "Fear God" before his "Honour the King," and felt his obedience to the latter lessening when he found the king trifling with his conscience as to the first. Thus throughout the contest Charles seems continually to have been engaged in stripping his cause of all the moral strength

which it would otherwise have possessed in the usages and affections of his subjects. He left himself and those who fought for him no one principle high and unadulterated, by the light of which they could, with a clear conscience and a zealous spirit, move onward at his call, excepting that of the sovereignty, a principle too weak alone to bear the structure he would rear upon it.

Though the commonwealth men were generally Puritans, these Puritans were divided into two parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents, who only disliked each other less than they hated the royalists. The former leaned towards the support of monarchical and aristocratical institutions, and yearned to establish their church on the ruins of all others, whence they came to abhor toleration as one of the worst of crimes; the latter held more democratical notions as to civil government, and desired toleration for all Christian bodies in the ecclesiastical policy of the country. Cromwell, Selden, St. John, Vane, and Whitelock were all Independents, whilst their Scotch allies were almost all Presbyterians, as were also the chief officers of the parliamentary army, the Earls of Essex and Manchester. Here were ample materials of discord, which Charles might have used to advantage. The differences of these factions caused a spirit of indecision in the minds of the military commanders, and suspicions grew rife that both Essex and Manchester were shunning rather than seeking decisive success against the king, lest they should at the same time give too great a power to that party among their own supporters of whom they were in dread.

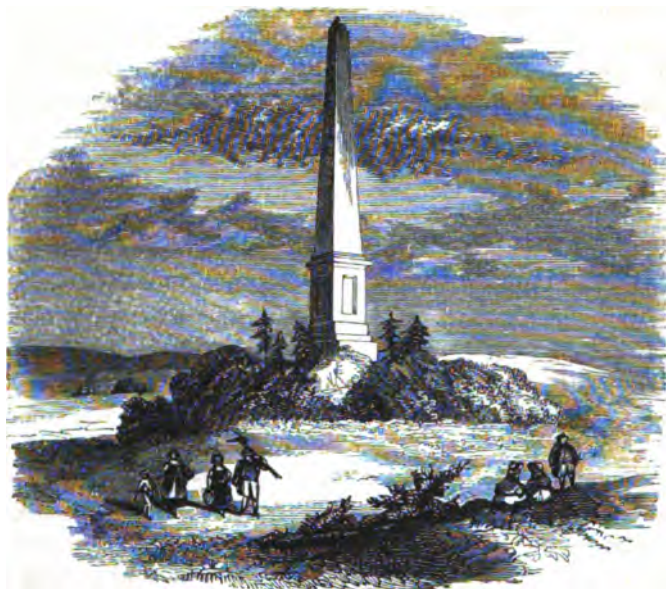
Facts were not wanting to support these views. A large army having been placed under the command of Manchester, with Cromwell as his lieutenant-general, the battle of Marston Moor was fought on the 2d of July, 1644, in which the royalists were completely routed. The whole north of England, in consequence of this victory, fell into the hands of the commonwealth men. In a second battle at Newbury, they remained in possession of the field, though the victory was claimed by their enemies; the royalists were nevertheless suffered to return to the scene of action, in the very eyes of the parliamentary army, and carry away unmolested the cannon left in Donnington castle. The indignant commons ordered an inquiry, and Cromwell did not hesitate to charge his superior with acting as though he thought "the king too low and the parliament too high."

From that moment the Presbyterian leaders sought to overthrow Cromwell, and he to destroy them. With the assistance of Vane and St. John, he succeeded in procuring the passage of the Self-Denying Ordinance, whereby all members of parliament, whether of the House of Lords or of Commons, were excluded from all command and offices in the army. By this subtle stroke of policy the Presbyterian leaders were not only put aside, but could hardly appear even to complain, without injury to their reputation. The profound sagacity of the men who originated this movement undoubtedly perceived that the Presbyterians once put aside, some opportunity would be sure to occur for the reintroduction of Cromwell.

Some attempts at negotiating a peace having proved ineffectual, the war

was vigorously renewed. A slight reverse caused the Commons to send Cromwell to the scene of action. He performed the duties prescribed with his usual skill, courage, and success. But other dangers threatened. The royalists were now concentrating their forces; some great effort was about to be made, and Fairfax, feeling himself incompetent, sent to the Commons to request that they would again dispense with the ordinance in Cromwell's case, and nominate him second in command. The Self-Denying Ordinance had been chiefly brought about by Cromwell's denunciation of the method by which the parliament carried on the war, and his eloquent calls for a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual guidance of affairs. This was now to a great extent in his own hands; the opportunity had been given him of testing personally the value of the counsel he had given. The parliament was exceedingly anxious, as he was determined to settle the business, to know how the settlement should come—whether in triumph or ruin. The result of the battle of Naseby made answer. That battle, fought on the 16th of June, 1645, sealed the fate of Charles, so far as it depended on military issues.

At dawn of day the king's army formed on a slight eminence, in an advantageous position, where they awaited the approach of the enemy. The impatient Prince Rupert marched with a few squadrons to the distance of a mile and a half before the advanced guard of the parliamentary army appeared. In his excitement, the prince imagined they were retreating, and sent word to the king to come and join him with all speed, lest they should escape. Towards ten o'clock the royalists came up, disordered by the precipitation of their advance; and Rupert, at the head of the right wing of the cavalry, dashed down upon Ireton, who commanded the left of the parliamentary army. At the same moment, Cromwell, with the right wing, fell upon the enemy's left, while the infantry composing the centres of both armies engaged under their respective leaders, the king himself on one side, and Fairfax and Skippon on the other. No battle as yet had been so rapidly general or so fiercely contested. The royalists, intoxicated with insolent confidence, sent forth as their war cry, "Queen Mary;" the parliamentarians, firm in their faith, invigorated their onset by the shout, "God is with us!" Ireton was severely wounded and made prisoner, and his command was broken by Rupert, who, always carried away by the same fault, pursued them up to the baggage, which was well defended by artillery. Here he vainly wasted his time and his strength, while the mighty Cromwell was deciding the battle. He had defeated the king's left, and left a detachment on the ground to prevent the broken lines from rallying, while he flew to the aid of the centre, where the conflict was most fierce. Fairfax, with his helmet beaten off by the blow of a sword, was fighting bare-headed, gallantly supported by Doyley, the colonel of his guards. The royalists were beginning to waver, when Cromwell joined with his victorious squadrons. The king, in desperation at the sight, put himself at the head of his reserve regiment of life-guards, and faced the new enemy. In a moment the whole regiment turned their backs, and the panic stricken royalists fled over the plain, some to escape, others to rally the fugitives. The return



MONUMENT ON NASEBY FIELD.

of the victorious plunderer, Rupert, checked the flight for a moment, and Charles wished to make another desperate effort to recover the day, but he was unsupported and compelled to fly. With two thousand horse he galloped off towards Leicester, leaving his artillery, ammunition, baggage, more than one hundred flags, his own standard, five thousand men, and all his cabinet papers in the possession of the parliament. In grateful commemoration of this victory, an obelisk was raised upon the spot where it was gained.

The capture of a handful of letters at Naseby, expressive of the true sentiments of the king on various matters then in dispute, rendered the cause of Charles much more hopeless than the mere result of the battle would have done. By the public reading of them to a great collection of the most distinguished citizens of London and members of parliament, it became known to the world that he who had so solemnly declared, "I will never abrogate the laws against the Papists," had already in secret pledged himself to abrogate them; that he who had said, with a show of generous indignation, "I abhor to think of bringing foreign soldiers into the kingdom," had been encouraging his queen to strain every nerve to induce foreign princes to send him troops; and that, finally, the man who had but a short time before consented during negotiation to give the parliament its title of parliament, was all the while doing it with the mental reservation that calling them so was not so acknowledging them, which simply and clearly implied that he was prepared to keep no faith what-

ever with those whom he so often appeared to be ready to negotiate with. The only thing which could have saved him at this juncture was a sudden change in his deportment, a magnanimous surrender in reliance upon the generosity of his people. But he madly threw it aside, and rushed to encounter all the dangers of civil war, without any of its advantages; he gave himself up to his Scotch rather than to his English subjects, and they shortly afterwards betrayed him to the latter.

Charles was now a prisoner in the hands of the parliament, yet still he intrigued, hoping to escape by exciting dissensions between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The struggle was brief; the Independents triumphed, and Cromwell obtained the entire control of the army, in spite of the Presbyterian majority in parliament. From that moment Cromwell was entitled to rule the destinies of England. Having by a sudden movement succeeded in removing Charles from the custody of the parliamentary commissioners to his own, he had the king in his hands, the army his devoted instrument, and the great majority of his countrymen his warm admirers. His conduct at this important period is very remarkable. To allow Charles to regain his power, no matter how restricted, was to set at rest for ever the unlawful and unprincipled aspirations of any; whilst to crush him was to open a thousand opportunities for their realization. The victorious general entered into negotiations with the captive king, who, had he possessed the least sincerity, might have saved his life and recovered his throne. The queen wrote a letter to Charles, reproaching him for having made too great concessions to those villains. These concessions were chiefly that Cromwell should be Lieutenant of Ireland for life; that an army should be there kept, which should know no head but the lieutenant; and that he should have a garter. The queen's letter was intercepted, and then forwarded to the king. In his answer, which was found in the possession of the messenger, at the Blue Boar Inn, in Holborn, by Cromwell and Ireton disguised as troopers, the king said that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; but she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them; for that he should know in due time how to deal with the rogue, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord. This letter decided the fate of the king. Cromwell found he was dealing with one who would not only break whatever pledges he made the moment he was again in power, but would make a jest of putting a halter round his neck, as the practical mode of fulfilling the promise of the garter.

While he amused all parties with negotiations, Charles had twice attempted to escape by flight, but without success. The Scots, too, ashamed of their desertion of him, sent an army into England under the Duke of Hamilton. That leader, however, was routed with great slaughter by the invincible Cromwell, while General Fairfax quelled a royalist insurrection in Kent and Essex. On receiving the news of Hamilton's overthrow, the parliament voted the concessions of Charles sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom, but the king delayed to embrace their overtures; two days afterwards the avenues

to the house were beset by soldiers, and two hundred of the members most obnoxious to the army were forcibly excluded.

The Independents now proceeded to consummate the work. The resolutions leading to a reconciliation with the king were revoked, and proposals were made for bringing him to a public trial for treason. A high court of justice was constituted for trying him, though the upper house of parliament refused its concurrence. Charles was brought before this tribunal, and during the seven days that the trial lasted, he frequently attempted to speak, but was silenced by Bradshaw, the presiding judge, because he invariably refused to acknowledge the authority of the nation to bring him to account for his crimes. From beginning to end, the utmost respect was paid to the king, and an order, a solemnity, and a rigid intensity of purpose characterized the whole, which could only spring from conscientious and deeply seated, even if mistaken, views of the overwhelming necessity of the deed they were committing. Throughout the whole, Charles continued to temporize, sought to gain time, that a revulsion of popular feeling might effect his deliverance. He called himself a martyr for the people, and when on the scaffold, with his usual consistency, in appealing to the assembled crowd in behalf of his son and successor, he affirmed "that the people ought never to have a share in the government, that being a thing nothing pertaining to them." Herein was contained the whole question at issue between him and his people. Sentence of death was passed upon him on the 17th of January, 1649, and he was executed in front of his palace at Whitehall, on the 30th, a martyr—not, as some would represent, for the people,—not for the Episcopal religion,—but to his false and high notions of royal prerogative, to his own insincerity of character.





CHAPTER VI.

The Commonwealth of England.



ENGLAND was now a Republic; the monarchy had ceased to exist. The House of Commons, or rather the small part of it which remained after the exclusion of the Presbyterian members by the military, and which was known by the ridiculous name of the Rump, abolished the kingly power as unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interests of the people. The House

of Lords was also abolished, and a new great seal was engraved with inscriptions according with the new state of affairs. The king's statues were taken down from the Exchange and other places. An elaborate declaration was written and published in the English, Latin, French, and Dutch languages, in explanation and in justification of the king's execution and the change in the form of government. A council of state, consisting of forty persons, was appointed to assume the government of the nation; it comprised seven noblemen, with Whitelock, St. John, Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, Sir Harry Vane, Harry Marten, Bradshaw, and Ludlow. Bradshaw presided, and Milton was

the secretary. Altogether, a council so distinguished for the ability of its members has never before or since sat in England. St. John also became chief justice, the name of the King's Bench being changed to that of the Upper Bench. Six of the judges resigned their seats, but six consented to act, on obtaining a declaration from the present legislature that no infringement should be made on the fundamental laws.

The army remained under the command of those who had made it invincible; the navy was removed from the care of the Earl of Warwick, and placed under the control of the three best officers of the day, of whom the chief was Blake; Vane sat as the guiding spirit at the head of the admiralty; and the commonwealth men, retaining the Presbyterian form of worship, infused into it a spirit hitherto unknown to Presbyterianism—toleration.

The first business of the Commonwealth was to repress the mutinous detachments of royalists attempting insurrections in different parts of the country. This required, during four months, the most decisive measures on the part of the Commons, and all the promptitude and vigour that Fairfax and Cromwell could bring to the enterprise. Other circumstances rendered the necessity of these exertions at home a source of much perplexity and irritation. Ireland, if any thing better than the name of a government was to be retained there, demanded immediate attention; and all the remaining strength that could be brought to the conflict would probably be required to meet the effort about to be made by the Scots in favour of the surviving Charles Stuart, whom they had proclaimed king as soon as the news of his father's death had reached them.

Cromwell accepted the conduct of the war in Ireland, with the office of lord-lieutenant, and landed near Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649, with eight thousand foot, four thousand cavalry, and a train of artillery. He laid the plan of the campaign with that unerring skill which always characterized his military enterprises, and carried it into execution without hesitation or delay. Town after town fell in rapid succession, and wherever the Irish showed themselves in the open field they were totally routed. The royalist deputy, Ormond, had put the important town of Drogheda into the best posture of defence, and garrisoned it with between two and three thousand of his best troops. Cromwell, instead of allowing himself to be detained by the dilatory process of a siege, effected a breach in the wall, and stormed the works at the head of his men. The whole armed garrison was put to the sword. Wexford suffered the fate of Drogheda. Many of the authorities in other towns were induced by these terrible proceedings to open their gates to the conquerors, and the war commencing in September had made such progress by the following March, that Cromwell returned to England, leaving Ireton to watch or subdue the small remains of opposition. The secret of the cruelty and rapidity of this murderous campaign was the necessity of placing England, at the earliest possible period, in a condition to meet the hostilities of the Scotch. On his return to England, Cromwell was met several miles from London by the Lord-General Fairfax, accompanied by many members of the parliament and officers of the army,

“with great numbers that came out of curiosity to see him of whom fame had made such a loud report.”*

The Scotch movement was a far more portentous affair than that in Ireland. Negotiations had been concluded between the estates at Edinburgh, and the young king finally determined to accept their terms, which provided that he should subscribe to the Covenant, and limited the royal prerogative. The latter made the sovereignty little better than a name, and Charles for a while hesitated to subscribe to them until he learned the fate of Montrose. This was one of his partisans and a royalist of the old school, who had attempted a diversion in his favour, but his principles were so distasteful to the Covenanters that they attacked and defeated him. Montrose himself was made captive, and hung upon a gallows thirty feet high, at Edinburgh, by virtue of a former attainer. After that event all the hopes Charles had entertained of obtaining more favourable conditions vanished, and laying aside conscience for what he thought policy, he took the oaths required of him, and landed in Scotland on the twenty-third of June, 1650.

Fairfax having declined the command of the army of the Commonwealth, Cromwell was named captain-general of all the forces, June 26. Three days afterwards he was on his way to the Borders. On passing the Tweed, the English army were surprised to find the country everywhere laid waste, and the inhabitants fled. The people, under penalty of the loss of life and property, had been compelled to remove or destroy their substance and to fly northward, their alacrity being increased by the most extravagant stories of the savage treatment they were to expect from the invaders. The deserted wilderness which Cromwell found to extend from Berwick to Edinburgh, was the consequence of these threatenings and reports, and though, by keeping near the coast, he obtained supplies from the fleets which accompanied him, yet the Scotch had reason to be delighted with their policy, when they saw its results developed in the daily increasing weakness of the enemy. At length Cromwell found the Scottish army between Edinburgh and Leith, so intrenched and otherwise protected as to preclude the possibility of successful assault. Their general, Leslie, avoided an engagement, hoping to exhaust his opponent by scarcity of provisions, fatigue, and sickness. His steady perseverance in this course, and the effect it produced upon the English ranks, caused Cromwell to feel much apprehension, and he retreated to Dunbar, where he shipped his sick and his heavy luggage, and prepared himself to return to England. But the Scotch preachers who were with the army thought that the time was now come for the total overthrow of the enemy, which they had prophesied from the beginning. The numbers of the respective forces were very satisfactory for them, 27,000 on their side against 12,000 under Cromwell. They were pressing closely upon him; his forces lay spread over an open plain near Broxmouth house, whilst they occupied the heights of Lammermuir on the right and the left. The Scots looked on the foe as snared and taken.

* Old England.

During the first day, which was the Sabbath, both armies remained motionless. On the following morning, the Scots, urged on, it is said, by their impatient preachers, who proved from Scripture that their victory must be sure, drew down part of their army and their artillery towards the foot of the hills. As Cromwell saw what they were doing, he burst out with the triumphant and prophetic cry, "The Lord has delivered them into our hands." Through that day, however, a formidable dyke or ditch, which separated the two armies, deterred either from making the attack. But some hours before daybreak the next morning, Cromwell despatched a brigade to attempt the gaining of a pass between Dunbar and Berwick, which would allow of their falling with advantage upon the position of the enemy. This object was accomplished by six o'clock, and Cromwell, advancing with the main body of his army, placed himself in front of the enemy's cavalry. When the sun, which had been hitherto obscured by a fog, suddenly burst forth and scattered the mists which had served partially to conceal the combatants from each other, the Scotch were seen advancing to the charge. Cromwell gazed for a moment, enraptured by the beauty of the scene, then recalled his thoughts to the business in hand, and shouted aloud, "Now let God arise and his enemies shall be scattered." The Scots charged with spirit, but they were met by the infantry with such order and force that they began to give ground; the rout of the cavalry produced a panic among the Scotch infantry, who threw away their arms and fled in every direction. Four thousand killed and ten thousand captive Scotchmen told in awful language the might of the English arms.*

Of Charles II. it has been said that he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one, and the latter part of the assertion might have been true but for his conduct at this crisis. While, in consequence of the battle of Dunbar, one place after another surrendered to the victorious general, and some of the people of Scotland began to take the side of the parliament, Charles suddenly left Stirling and dashed across the border towards London. He reached Worcester without encountering an enemy, and there issued proclamations to those who favoured his cause in England. While his adherents slowly gathered round his standard, Cromwell, who had been taken by surprise at this brilliant manœuvre, pursued him with great speed, cut to pieces an army of royalists under the Earl of Derby who attempted to arrest his progress, formed a junction with the troops that had been sent from London on the emergency, and finally sat down before Worcester, assured of success. The parliamentary force was divided by the windings of the Teme and the Severn, and Charles decided to attack that part of it which was commanded by Cromwell on the east bank of the latter river. The attack was commenced upon the newly-raised militia regiments, which broke at the first onset. Cromwell then brought up his own troops, who pressed with so much weight and steadiness upon their opponents, that after a sharp conflict, maintained with various success for four hours, the retreat of the royalists became general, and horse and foot began to seek the

* Pictorial England.



BOSCOBEL HOUSE.

shelter of the city. The fight was renewed in the streets, but the victory belonged to Cromwell, and Charles fled for his life. (September 3, 1651.) He went first with a few trusty attendants to Boscobel House, where he narrowly escaped capture by the troopers of Cromwell. After many adventures, he finally, in the middle of October, embarked at Sporeham in a coal vessel, which carried him to the small town of Fecamp, in France.

Cromwell left "the Golgotha of Worcester," and hastened to London, where he was honoured with another public entry; Hampton Court was prepared for his reception, and an estate in land worth four thousand pounds a year was voted to him. Ireton, as his lieutenant, successfully completed the conquest of Ireland, and Monk, in a similar capacity, reduced all Scotland. Scilly, Guernsey, Jersey, and the Isle of Man were all subjected, and the flag of the Commonwealth was everywhere victorious. Vane, St. John, and six others were appointed commissioners to settle the affairs of Scotland by incorporating it with England, the Covenanters were forced to succumb to the arguments of the parliament,—a victorious army, a chain of forts, and the entire command of their coasts and trade,—and every sign of royalty was effaced in both Scotland and Ireland. Thenceforth, the great seal was graced by the map of the United British Islands.*

The states-general of Holland had manifested considerable opposition to the Commonwealth, which feeling, added to the commercial rivalry of the two nations, inclined them to experiment with the temper and strength of the young and vigorous power. The commercial war which now ensued between England and Holland, grew out of difficulties arising from the murder of the Commonwealth's ambassador at the Hague, by a party of English royalists, and a dispute about a point of naval etiquette. The great Admiral Van Tromp, the Neptune of the Dutch, had received from the states the command of a fleet of forty sail, in order to protect the merchantmen of Holland from the English privateers. He was forced by stress of weather into the road of Dover, where he met with the famous Admiral Blake, who commanded a fleet of fifteen sail. The latter haughtily gave a signal to Van Tromp to strike his flag in compliment to the English nation. The gallant Dutchman answered the signal with a broadside, and Blake boldly attacked him. Eight English sail reinforced

* England under the House of Stuart.



the admiral, and the battle raged for five hours, when it was terminated by the approach of night.

Several other engagements ensued without any decided advantage. At length Blake, with a greatly inferior force, was surprised at anchor by his adversary. He nevertheless gave battle, and the combat lasted from ten in the morning until night, when the English admiral found that he had lost five of his thirty-seven vessels. (November 29th, 1652.)

After this victory, Van Tromp sailed through the channel to convoy home the Dutch and French fleets, and affixed a broom to his mast-head to signify his intention of sweeping the English from the seas. In February, 1653,

however, an engagement took place between the rival commanders, which lasted three days. The result was a victory for Blake, much more decisive than any that had occurred during the war. The Dutch lost thirty merchant vessels, eleven ships of war, and two thousand seamen, besides fifteen hundred taken prisoners. The English lost as many killed, but only one vessel.

Perhaps there is nothing in modern history more remarkable than the change which in a short space of time had come over the character of the English people: from the pusillanimity and incompetency which had marked its undertakings under the successors of Elizabeth, to the astonishing exhibitions of disciplined valour upon the land and upon the seas, which marked the period of the civil war and the Commonwealth. The new power and complexion of the national character would appear to have been derived from the novelty and nobleness of the objects pursued by the soldier and the sailor in the contests in which they were engaged—personal right and religious freedom. But the spirit of revolution could with difficulty be restrained within the limits which wisdom would have assigned; every man speculated upon government, every man fancied a form of government by which only the good of the country could be secured, and every man felt aggrieved that his invention was not adopted. Like most others, Cromwell entertained peculiar opinions, and laboured systematically and earnestly to procure their adoption. He thought through life that all theories of government have their value, not from their abstract excellence, but from their adaptation to the community that may be supposed to adopt them, and he was persuaded that at this time the form of government best suited to the people of England was a mixed constitution with a monarchical power; a persuasion that we may readily suppose was not less welcome from its being, in the course of time, connected with circumstances which seemed to point to himself as the only person in whom the supreme power could be vested with any appearance of propriety or safety. It is of the least importance to prove that he did or did not know how to dissemble; but

certainly, much of his conduct which has been carried to the account of hypocrisy and ambition, may have been designed to carry into effect those larger views of social policy by which he was assuredly distinguished from all the men of his time. Though he in many instances both spoke and acted in a manner not strictly consistent with his real preferences, yet his intention was to adapt himself to the nature of the elements about him, and to wield them so as to accomplish the objects he then had in view, and which in his judgment were most likely to conduce to the public good.

When it was necessary that the command of the army should not be left with men who had received it chiefly on account of their rank, and who were suspected of leaning towards royalty, and of being therefore predisposed against the popular cause, it was Cromwell who saw the necessity of the change, and he became sufficiently a republican to accomplish this desirable end. He employed the popular sentiment in the army, that the cause of the parliament might not be endangered in the hands of incompetent or half-hearted persons. When the dispute began between the parliament and the army under Fairfax, he availed himself of the same feeling to prevent such a settlement on the part of the two houses as would have taken from his followers that religious liberty for which they had so successfully contended, and perhaps at no distant day have exposed himself and others to the vengeance of their enemies. These objects were not, however, more calculated to gratify any feeling of individual ambition in Cromwell than to secure the triumph of the public cause in which he was engaged. That the tone of republicanism which he assumed for their sake was such as to preclude his future adherence to royalty is highly improbable. This may be inferred from the fact that he laboured with earnestness to bring about an agreement with the king.

It had long been a leading object with him to bring the present parliament to fix on a time when its powers should cease, and when another should be convened on some well-considered principle of representation. He pressed the subject upon the attention of the house in the autumn of 1648, but he could obtain no immediate action upon it. The house of five hundred persons which assembled as the Commons in 1640, by deaths, by the withdrawal of the royalists, and by the forcible ejection of obnoxious members by the military, had been reduced in numbers to sixty. No one pretended that the selection of persons then made by the officers, or the additions afterwards made to them by the same power, was an assembly that could properly be called a parliament; it was an authority existing solely as the creature of the army. In many of the departments of government it had acquitted itself with a high degree of sagacity, assiduity, and courage; but the tenacity with which its leaders clung to the power that had been committed to them, though proceeding probably from motives in which there was as much to praise as to blame, exposed them to suspicion, and gave force to the complaints which were directed against the weak points of their conduct by their enemies. At the same time Cromwell was addressed in all quarters in language which proclaimed him a king in every thing except the name. He adopted measures to ascertain the judgment

of the most considerable persons about him in regard to the establishment of a monarchy; but found the military men generally wedded to a republic, while the civilians were more favourable to the restoration of the peerage and of power in a single person, but always mentioning one of the branches of the late king's family as the person to be called to that power. With officers so little disposed to change the form of government, it is doubtful what course Cromwell would have taken with respect to the parliament, but for the reasons for violence with which its own conduct furnished him.

In November, 1651, it was decided, by a bare majority, that the present parliament should cease on the 3d of November, 1654; a decision which Cromwell had had great difficulty in obtaining. His conduct was regarded as betraying distrust, and the parliamentary leaders discovered a similar jealousy of the commander-in-chief, by effecting some large reductions in the army. In the summer of 1652, Cromwell interposed to prevent these retrenchments from extending further than might comport with his plans, and the house consented to stay its hand for the present.



COSTUME OF A CUIRASSIER.
SIZR. 1645.

From September, 1652, to the following April, several meetings took place between the leading officers and some of the members of parliament, in order that provision should be made for the return of a new parliament friendly to the military, yet the house showed an intention of coalescing with the Presbyterians, who at heart hated them and Cromwell alike. In regard to this point a conference took place, on the 19th of April, between the commander-in-chief and his officers and some twenty members of parliament, which came to no definite determination. At parting, several of the members assured Cromwell that they would suspend further proceedings about the new representative bill until further conference. It was then late at night. On the next morning, while the council of officers was considering the terms to be proposed at the next meeting with the committee, Colonel Ingoldsby came from the house, bearing a message from Harrison that the parliament "was proceeding with all speed upon the new representative." In fact, the house had determined on the morning of that day to pass a bill relating to the constitution of a new parliament, which they had secretly agreed upon, and then to dissolve, hoping to effect both measures before the council at Whitehall should become aware of their proceedings. By this means the force of law would be given to their plans, and any attempt to frustrate them by military violence would be rendered less probable. But after despatching Ingoldsby to Cromwell, Harrison prolonged the debate



CROMWELL EXPELLING THE PARLIAMENT.

by a mild and humble, but long expostulation to the advocates of the measure, pointing out the impolicy of their conduct.

No other man in the country could have met this combination of strategy and courage in his opponents with the firmness and presence of mind of Cromwell. He went, attended by Lambert and other officers and a file of musketeers to the house, and, leaving the soldiers outside, he entered and took his seat. In silence he listened to the discussion until the speaker was about to put the question. Now was the time for action. Without hesitation he rose, removed his hat from his head, and spoke for a short time to the question about to be decided. As he proceeded he grew impassioned, his language violent. He charged the house with the denial of justice, with acts of oppression, with open

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profanity, with intending their own aggrandizement at the cost of the public welfare, and above all with planning at this moment to bring in the Presbyterians, men who they knew, or should know, would lose no time in destroying the cause which they had so basely deserted. All this they had done to promote their own little interests, and in heedlessness concerning the fate of men who had endured all hardships for the state, fought for it and bled for it. Vane, Wentworth, and Marten broke forth in indignant exclamations at the violence of his conduct. The loud and stern tones of Cromwell bore down their voices as he uttered the memorable words: "I'll put an end to your prating; you are no longer a parliament. I'll put an end to your sitting. Get ye gone! Give way to honester men." He then stamped with his foot and the house was instantly filled with armed men. The Speaker hesitated to obey the command to leave; he was forcibly ejected. The young Algernon Sydney, one of the bravest and purest republicans, was similarly put out, and the members generally, about eighty in number, rose, on being pressed by the military, and moved towards the door. When they had disappeared, he ordered the speaker's mace to be removed, caused the doors to be locked, and returned to Whitehall with the keys in his pocket. The Council of State were dissolved the same day, by the same means—force; Bradshaw, its president, yielding to what could not be resisted, but with a heart as inaccessible to fear as that of the general himself, speaking to Cromwell as sternly and uncompromisingly as he had ever done to Charles on the trial in Westminster Hall.

So weary were the people of their late rulers, that they not only evinced no dissatisfaction, but expressed great joy at the downfall of parliament, and Cromwell received letters from every part of the kingdom, thanking him for his boldness and courage. The statesmen at Westminster had disappointed his expectations, they were not likely to adopt the form of government which he thought should be chosen, and rather than trust to them or the still less manageable body which would have succeeded them, he seized the reins of state into his own hands. No man, not blinded by prejudice or excessive party feeling, will doubt that he intended to guide them for the good of the community, and with a more equal and comprehensive regard to its interests than could be expected from any other quarter; neither can it well be doubted that he looked forward to an establishment of the supremacy of the law in the place of the power of the sword. But the point of most weight in connection with the judgment to be formed of the conduct of Cromwell on this occasion, is one that must always remain in a great degree uncertain, that is, the extent to which his regard for the public good was alloyed by admixtures of personal ambition. Even supposing that his proposed end was the most generous and patriotic that could have been entertained, it is still doubtful how far he was justified in resorting to such measures even for such an object.*

Cromwell understood the temperament of the people of England too well not to be aware that his ascendancy would be of no long continuance unless

* England under the House of Stuart. Old England. Von Raumer.

sanctioned by the appearance of parliamentary authority. He therefore, with the advice of his officers, nominated one hundred and sixty persons, on his own authority, to form a new parliament. This assembly met on the 4th of July, 1653; one hundred and twenty, "many of them persons of fortune and knowledge," having obeyed the call. Some of the members were recommended chiefly by their religious enthusiasm and their influence over the common people and sectarians. Of these the most noted was one Praise God Barbone, a leather dealer of London, whose name, converted into Barebones, furnished an appellation for the whole assembly. The more common popular title, however, was that of the Little Parliament. But the Lord-General did not find his new assembly so favourable to him as he had expected, and he therefore contrived that it should dissolve itself and surrender its power into his own hands. On the 12th of December a portion of the members met sooner than usual, and, with the speaker Rouse at their head, repaired to Cromwell and his council of officers, declared themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken, and resigned their delegated power.

Harrison had hitherto been an efficient instrument in the hands of Cromwell; he now became hostile to him. With some twenty others he remained in the house, and they proceeded to protract their functions by placing one Mayor in the chair. As they were preparing to draw up protests, they were interrupted by Colonel White, who entered with a party of soldiers, and asked what they did there. Some one replied that they were seeking the Lord. "Then," said the colonel, "you may go elsewhere, for to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years."

Four days after the dissolution of the Little Parliament, Cromwell was installed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and a paper was read to him entitled an Instrument of Government, which had been prepared by the council of officers, and which he swore to observe. It granted the legislative power to the protector and a parliament, and the executive to the protector and a council of state. The parliament assembled under this instrument was to sit for five months; at the end of that time, finding it no more tractable than its predecessors, Cromwell dissolved it, declaring that he thought it not good for the profit of the nations that it should continue longer.

While thus the parliament and the executive were unable to agree, the royalists and the republicans were active in raising conspiracies and revolts to overturn the existing state of affairs. But their schemes were all known to Cromwell, to whom belongs the honour of perfecting that system of espionage, by which alone the heads of police, and through them the despotic governments of Europe are now assured of their safety. His agents saw every thing, knew every thing, not only in the countries he ruled, but throughout Europe. The private instructions of ambassadors to his court were known to him, often before they had left the hands of the government which sent them, and the machinations of the royalists in England and abroad were particularly the objects of attention on the part of his servants. Apprised of the proceedings of conspira-

tors, he caused their persons to be seized at the critical moment, and the subordinates, deprived of the leaders, remained quiet, fearing and trembling.

After the dissolution of the parliament, which had not voted him the smallest supply or even empowered him to collect the ordinary revenue, Cromwell proceeded to administer the affairs of the state by virtue of the authority given him by the Instrument of Government. His demands were moderate, and met with little resistance, so that during a period of eighteen months he sustained the whole power of the Commonwealth, and raised the necessary supplies without any legislative assistance. He then ventured, in an arbitrary manner, to assemble another parliament, in which for a time he commanded a majority. Provisions were made for the greater safety of the person of the chief magistrate, proper measures for supporting the government in its foreign relations were enacted, and the family of Stuart was solemnly renounced. A plot which had for its object the death of the protector being discovered about this time, led to the discussion of a question which, as we believe, had long occupied the mind of Cromwell, and which possessed a deep interest with all the parties of the nation. This was the celebrated affair of the kingship. It had long been seen that a parliament of one chamber or house was a nullity, and that in the present condition of affairs there was nothing but the single life of Cromwell between comparative tranquillity and prosperity, and civil war and anarchy. On this account, many men, not the protector's tools or dupes, neither selfish nor short-sighted, had seriously deliberated upon the restoration of the upper house and a monarchy. By a majority of 123 to 62, they therefore offered him the title of king. "The protector," says Bulstrode,—who appears to have understood the frame and temper of Cromwell's mind at least as well as any of the angry debaters who have since written upon the subject,— "the protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was fit for him to accept this title of king, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's men and many officers of the army, he decided to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and declined it at this time." We may rest satisfied with this summary account, the rather as the secret details of the matter are dark and not momentous.* A. D. 1656.

The great statesman having thus declined the title of king, the parliament slightly modified their "Petition and Advice," by which they begged of Cromwell that he "would be pleased to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate, by and under the name and style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; to appoint and declare during his lifetime the person who should be his successor; and to create the "Other House," the members to be such as should be nominated by his highness, and approved by the Commons." To this instrument Cromwell gave his consent, and on the 26th of June he was inaugurated as protector in Westminster Hall, with all the pomp of royalty. This was scarcely over and the Other House established,

* Carlyle.



CROMWELL REFUSING THE CROWN.

when the members of the House of Commons commenced a series of intrigues, which had for their object the destruction of the Upper House and the abolition of the protectorate, and which speedily led to the dissolution of this, the last parliament convened by the Protector. Thus ended the last effort made by Cromwell to restore the constitution of his country. Henceforth, with that portion of the army which confided in him, Cromwell employed himself in opposing the establishment of the schemes of his opponents—the royalists, the Presbyterians, and the republicans—all of which essentially or from circumstances were schemes of tyranny. They trusted that the dissolution of this third parliament would render him odious and hasten his fall; nor did they spare any pains to forward the accomplishment of their own predictions. But in all their paths of conspiracy their adversary met them, and proved himself powerful enough to put down this many-headed opposition.

One of the first measures of Cromwell, when he became possessed of the

supreme power, was to favour the pacific overtures of the United Provinces. The war with the Dutch had been waged by Cromwell since the assembling of the Little Parliament, with a success which made England appear more formidable under his administration than ever before. Monk and Dean were intrusted with the command of a fleet of a hundred sail. They encountered the enemy in equal force off the coast of Flanders, and a battle ensued which lasted two days. During its continuance the English were reinforced by eighteen sail under Blake, and, though Dean was killed, victory declared for the Commonwealth. The Dutch refitted their fleet with surprising rapidity, added to it several new and larger vessels, and committed to Van Tromp the task of retrieving the honour of their flag. The hostile fleets encountered each other on the 31st of July, and for two days the result was doubtful. Both parties fought with the utmost fury. On the third morning the struggle was renewed; they fought from five in the morning until ten, when Van Tromp was shot, while, in the very midst of the English fleet, he animated his men to still greater exertions. His death diffused a panic not only throughout the Dutch fleet, but over all the United Provinces. Though they lost but thirty ships in the battle, the Dutch gave up all hopes of success in the war. They purchased a peace from Cromwell by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them.

The Protector's success abroad served still further to increase the estimation in which he was held by foreign powers. Spain and France, at war with each other, both courted his friendship, and neither spared any baseness or prostration to win his alliance. The cunning of Mazarin decided the question. Of the king of Spain he demanded, that no Englishman should ever be subjected to the Inquisition, and that the West Indies and the South American continent should be thrown open to his flag, with a free trade to all English subjects. The Spanish ambassador told him that this was like asking for the King of Spain's two eyes. The fact that the Protector had made these demands being spread throughout England, greatly increased Cromwell's popularity, and secured him the support of the people in the warlike measures which he commenced. Two fleets were immediately fitted out; one under Blake was sent to cruise in the Mediterranean, the other under Penn and Venables proceeded to the West Indies, where, after a blundering and unsuccessful attempt on Hispaniola, it secured to the Commonwealth the important island of Jamaica. While Blake, with a strong naval force, checked the Barbary pirates, and forced the Grand Duke of Tuscany to make indemnity for sundry offences committed against the Commonwealth, Cromwell treated on terms of equality with Louis XIV. His attention had been directed to the persecuted Waldenses, a Protestant people living in the upper valleys of Piedmont, and though he could not hope to make his sea cannon heard by the Duke of Savoy, their oppressor, he nevertheless determined to bring about their deliverance. He refused therefore to treat with Mazarin, who was said to fear Cromwell more than he did the devil, until that minister had read a lesson of toleration to the court of Savoy, and had obtained from it a solemn engagement to allow the Protestant mountaineers

liberty of conscience and the restoration of all their ancient rights. Then only did Cromwell, whom Charles Stuart terms in his proclamations "that base mechanic fellow," sign the treaty with "his brother, the King of France."

A declaration of open war with Spain was now issued, and Blake presently began to fill the ports of England with rich prizes. On land Dunkirk first engaged the attention of the allies.



TURENNE

The British blockaded it by sea, while a French army under Turenne, aided by six thousand of Cromwell's invincible troops as auxiliaries, besieged it by land. The Spaniards sent an army to its relief, Turenne gave battle, and obtained a decided victory, chiefly by the obstinate valour of the English. In consequence of this victory, the great general in a few days became master of Dunkirk, which was given to Cromwell in accordance with the terms of the treaty. (A. D. 1656.) The troops of the Protector acted in harmony with the French during the remainder of the campaign, and the fall of Dunkirk was followed by that of many of the principal cities of the Spanish Netherlands.

Blake was the naval hero of this war; the last in which he took part. The burning of an entire fleet in the bay of Santa Cruz, was the last and greatest of his exploits. In the quaint words of an old historian, "here with twenty-five sail, he fought as it were in a ring, with seven forts, a castle, and sixteen ships, many of them being of greater force than most of those ships which Blake carried in against them; yet, in spite of opposition, he soon calcined the enemy, and brought his fleet back again to the coast of Spain, full fraught with honour." But on the way home, "he who would never strike to any other enemy, struck his topmast to Death." In the civil war Blake had been an inflexible republican, yet his greatest exploits were done in the service of the Protector. He was above forty-four years of age when he entered the military service, and fifty-one before he acted in the navy, yet he raised the maritime glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merits, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears, bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit.*

* Dr. Johnson's Life of Blake.

The protection of law and of regular government, and the mildness of his sway having apparently induced many who once opposed him to now uphold his authority, Cromwell, in 1658, contemplated assembling a fourth parliament, which might not prove unwilling to act with him as chief magistrate. The experiment, however, was not to be made. In the summer of 1658 he lost his eldest and favourite daughter, the lady Elizabeth Claypole. Her sufferings and death affected him exceedingly, insomuch that for many days he abstained almost entirely from public business. At the same time his own constitution afforded signs of rapid decay; he was in his sixtieth year, and so great had been his labours, both in the council and in the field, that he may be truly said to have lived through many lives before that year arrived. His first indisposition was from an attack of the gout, which was followed by a tertian ague of a severe description. Many of the anecdotes recorded of his last illness, though they indicate a sort of consciousness of religious declension, afford withal a sufficient proof of the sincerity with which Cromwell held those religious opinions which it was his practice to avow. His last sane moments were spent in uttering a prayer to the Throne of Grace, not for himself, nor for his own family or near relations, but for his people, for those especially who were impatient for his last moments, and who he well knew had long sought opportunities for effecting his destruction. He died on the 3d of September, 1659, on the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

The formation of a just estimate of the character of Cromwell is rendered particularly difficult by the manner in which his good and evil qualities were blended, by the various and peculiar circumstances in which they were developed, and by the exaggerated language in which they have been presented to us, sometimes by over-zealous friends, but chiefly by prejudiced or ill-informed minds, hostile to his memory. History presents us the name of no other man of whom so much has been written, and so small a portion of it by a friendly hand. We are indebted, for nearly all that we know concerning Cromwell, to authors of the royalist, Presbyterian, or republican faction, all of whom hated Cromwell with the utmost intensity of passion.

These authors have given currency to many tales of his profligacy in youth, the sole foundations of which appear to have been some of the puritanical modes of expression in which he sometimes spoke of the sinfulness of his past life. Few now deny that his devotion was ardent and his piety genuine, and even prejudiced and inimical authors are constrained to admit that under his sway England witnessed a diffusion, till then unknown, of the purest influence of true religious principles. The first and greatest error of the Protector's life consisted in the surrender of his powerful mind to the religious fashions of his younger days. His court and manner of life continued always quiet and modest; every thing at Hampton court, his favourite residence, wore an air of decency and sobriety; there was no riot, no debauchery seen or heard of, yet it was prevented from becoming dull by the cheerful humour of the Protector. In the words of Dr. Bate, who, though the physician, was far from being the panegyrist of Cromwell, "the lives of men, outwardly at least, became reformed,

either by withdrawing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the ancient laws now of new put into execution. There was also a strict discipline kept up in his court; one could find none here that was either drunkard or reveller, none that was guilty of extortion or oppression, but he was severely rebuked. Now trade began to flourish, and, to say all in a word, all England over there were halcyon days."

It has been remarked, and it can hardly be denied, that there were times when he employed language to obscure rather than to express his meaning, and others when his words wanted not clearness, but when they did not convey his real opinions. At times, too, he chose to appear to be pushed forward by parties, when he had really been at much pains to win them over to his own views. As he rose in life, temptations to avail himself of such artifices were frequent, and when he deemed the end to be accomplished important, he did not always care to resist them. His enemies assert loudly, and with truth, that no pressure of circumstances can justify an act of insincerity, yet few men perhaps would have preserved a more unblemished character in a similar position. In our own quiet times, we frequently find public men, of ardent temperament, acting under the belief that the success of their party is necessary to the well-being of the state, and persuading themselves that means which they would otherwise have considered highly questionable, are both expedient and lawful when regarded in relation to the end they propose to accomplish. Yet even their most violent political opponents rarely charge them with insincerity. Still more rarely is such a charge laid at the door of the subtle statesmen, Richelieu and Mazarin, both contemporaries of Cromwell, and both ecclesiastics. Yet, while Cromwell but pursued doubtful means of obtaining a good end, they both regarded all means as good in proportion as they might be employed with success, and frequently proposed ends not more consonant with a due regard to moral considerations than the expedients adapted to secure them.

The policy of Cromwell during the last ten years of his life, according to an author whose views are singularly impartial and independent, was twofold: to prevent any one of the leading parties from becoming so far predominant as to be capable of oppressing the rest; and to bring them all—using his own language—to a "consistency," or, in other words, to a settlement on the basis of mutual concession. That no hand but his own could possibly conduct affairs to this issue was a conviction which the course of events naturally forced upon him; and as it became more and more evident that there was no room to hope for such a settlement without recognising a monarchical power, Cromwell laid claim to that power as properly his own. This was his ambition; a passion which we do not find existing in him in a degree to be censured until after the period when his attempt to place Charles I. on the throne exposed his own life to imminent hazard.*

Of the qualifications of Cromwell to sustain the high office to which he aspired, it is far more easy to treat. His humble origin has led some to sneer

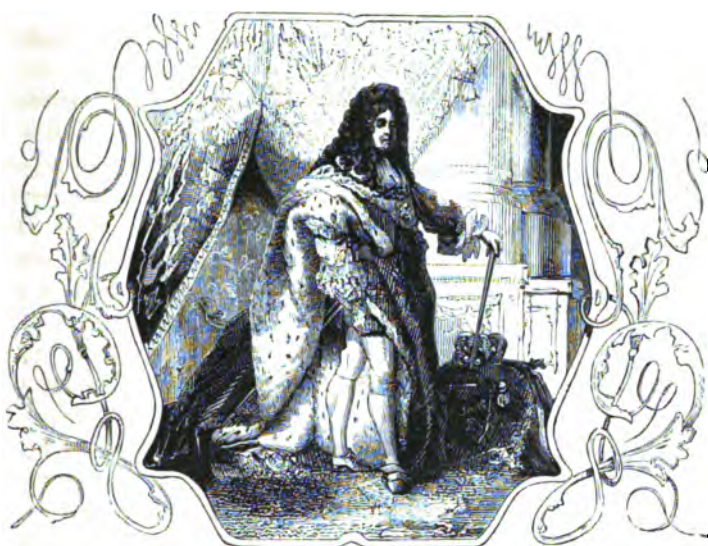
* England under the Stuarts.

at his supposed want of literary acquirements, but these themselves perhaps have attained to far less proficiency than the object of their malevolence. According to Haller, Cromwell possessed a sound knowledge of the classics of Greece and Rome, and on one occasion at least, he ably maintained his part in a conference in Latin with the Swedish ambassador. This is but one part of that equally diffused intellectual health which he so eminently possessed. Never was any ruler so conspicuously born to govern. It has been said,* that the cup which has intoxicated almost all others sobered him. His spirit, restless from its buoyancy in a lower sphere, reposed in majestic placidity as soon as it had reached the level congenial to it. The expansion of his mind kept pace with the elevation of his fortunes; he had nothing in common with that large class of men who distinguish themselves in lower posts, and betray incapacity when the public voice calls them to take the lead. Insignificant as a private citizen, he was a great general,—he was a still greater prince. By the confession of his enemies, he exhibited in his demeanour the simple and natural nobleness of a man neither ashamed of his origin nor vain of his elevation,—of a man who had found his proper place in society, and who felt secure that he was competent to fill it. Easy even to familiarity where his own dignity was concerned, he was punctilious only for his country—and prepared to risk the chances of war to avenge the death of the most humble of her citizens.

No sovereign ever carried to the throne so strong a sympathy with the feelings and interests of his people. He was sometimes driven to arbitrary measures, but he had a high, stout, honest heart. Hence it was that he loved to surround his throne with such men as Matthew Hale and Blake. Hence it was that he allowed so large a share of political liberty to his subjects, and that even when an opposition dangerous to his power and to his person almost compelled him to govern by the sword, he was still anxious to leave a germ from which, at a more favourable season, free institutions might spring. Had it not been for the mad opposition he experienced from his parliaments, his government would have been as mild at home as it was energetic and able abroad. His administration was glorious, but it was with no vulgar glory. It was not one of those periods of overstrained and convulsive exertions which necessarily produce debility and languor. It was natural, healthy, temperate. He placed England at the head of the Protestant interest and in the first rank of Christian powers. He taught every nation to value her friendship and to dread her enmity. But he did not squander her resources in a vain attempt to invest her with that supremacy which no power in the modern system of Europe can safely affect, or can long retain.

* Edinburgh Review.





LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER VII.

Continental Europe in the Times of Louis the Fourteenth.



AT the death of Louis XIII., the government of France fell to his queen, Anne of Austria, and the crown to his son, who was not then five years old. As we have seen, all Europe was in a most turbulent state, and as France under Richelieu's administration had taken an active part in exciting the commotion, it was reasonable to expect that the reign of the young king would be marked by war, violence, and intrigue. The queen-mother, Anne of Austria, chose for her minister the cardinal Mazarin, whose consummate abilities, great firmness, and cool temperament, qualified him for the succession to the power of his master, Richelieu. Indeed, while he pursued the same general policy, his measures were likely to be more successful than those of his predecessor, as would appear from the character of them both given by Voltaire. He has placed their talents in a just point of view, by applying them to the same object, and, to make the illustration more complete, he has introduced a less worthy

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associate. "If, for example," to use his own words, "the subjection of Rochelle had been undertaken by Cæsar Borgia, he would, under the sanction of the most sacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there have put them to death. Mazarin would have got possession of the place two or three years later, by corrupting the magistrates, and sowing discord among the citizens. Cardinal Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander the Great, laid a boom across the harbour and entered Rochelle as a conqueror, but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent, Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called a rash and inconsiderate projector."* Mazarin, more supple and cunning than Richelieu, employed different means to arrive at the same end. Richelieu grappled with and crushed opposition; Mazarin undermined it at its base, deprived it of external succour, and caused it to destroy itself. If his schemes were less comprehensive, or his enterprises less bold than those of Richelieu, they were less extravagant. The vigour of his spirit was restrained by political caution, his shining genius concealed by profound dissimulation, characteristic traits which have escaped the notice of most historians, and occasioned others to treat with injustice one of the most accomplished statesmen of modern times.



THE enemies of Richelieu were the enemies of Mazarin also; and to the number of these the new minister added many among the great and the powerful, whose envy led them to seek his destruction. An additional cause of jealousy was found in the fact that he was a foreigner. Yet he soon showed his determination and ability to support the glory of France. The Spaniards, thinking that the minority of the king and the internal dissensions afforded a good opportunity for renewing hostilities, invaded the country and laid siege to Rocroi. They found themselves opposed by an army greatly inferior in numbers, led by an inexperienced young man, who was but twenty years of age, and who was placed under the counsel of the Marshal de l'Hopital. They considered their success certain. When the young general announced to his mentor his intention of opening the campaign not by a siege but by a battle, the senior remonstrated and all but rebelled. "Take," said D'Enghien, "the command of the second line; I charge myself with the event." "The king is just dead," rejoined the marshal; "the queen-regent's government is hardly yet settled. The enemy are aware of the fatal consequences which a defeat must at this moment bring to France. It is no time to run the risk of such calamity." "I shall never witness it," answered the juvenile chief; "I shall enter Paris a conqueror or a corpse. To the head of the second line!" and L'Hopital covered his hoary head and made a sign of obedience. Truly, as Voltaire remarks, this prince was born a general. War, as an art, was in him by instinct; so was coolness,—for, like Alexander the Great, under similar cir-

* Siècle, tom. i. c. v.

BATTLE OF NOCHOT.



cumstances, after having forced his mentor to give way to his youthful impetuosity, and having himself seen to all the dispositions of his army, he slept so profoundly that it was necessary to wake him in the morning. On this day the Duke D'Enghien gave promise of the future exploits which gained for him the appellation of the great Condé. To appear at the head of the armies of France at such an early age was no common glory; to annihilate with his maiden sword the famous Walloon and Castilian infantry, which for a century and a half had been considered invincible, was of itself sufficient to place his name among the highest warriors of that warlike age.

After the battle, in which the Spanish general Francisco de Melo lost nine thousand men, he threw a reinforcement of ten thousand men into Thionville, yet it fell before the victorious arms of the young leader. The victories of Fribourg and Nordlingen, and the taking of Dunkirk in Flanders, contributed to raise his glory still higher. While this able general thus shed lustre upon the period of the minority of Louis XIV., the commotions of the Fronde broke out in Paris.

The jealousy of Mazarin's power felt by the nobility, the unpopularity of his measures, the disorder of the finances, and the oppression of new taxes inflamed the nation; and the intrigues of the coadjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterwards the Cardinal de Retz, blew up this flame into a civil war. The parliament of Paris took part with the discontented, who were headed by the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Longueville and Bouillon, and others of the chief nobility. Several arrests were made, which irritated the Parisians so much that they rose in all parts of the town, barricaded the streets, killed some of the soldiers, and continued their acts of violence until the prisoners were liberated. This, however, failed to allay the excitement, and the dissensions ended in open rebellion. The rebels were called *Frondeurs*, from the French word for sling, because they threw stones at their adversaries by means of slings. The other party were called *Mazarins*, from the name of the minister. Besides these there was yet a third party, named *Mitigés*, which consisted of those who did not choose to be ranked with either of the other parties, and who, according to D'Anquetil, waited to range themselves on the side of the conqueror.

The civil war became so violent as to oblige the queen-regent and the young king to quit Paris; they removed to St. Germain, and the ministerial party besieged the city. Several combats took place, without any decided advantage to either party. A conference was then agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel, by which a general amnesty was granted and a temporary quiet procured, but without extinguishing the hatred of either side. The court returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expressions of joy and satisfaction. But the triumph of Mazarin was of short duration. Condé, ever the prey of his ambition, had presumed upon his popularity repeatedly to insult the queen, the minister, and De Retz. By the advice of this subtle prelate, Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville were arrested and imprisoned. But their confinement aroused their partisans in all parts of the kingdom; and the Duke of Orleans, uncle to the king, became

the head of the malcontents. Afraid of the storm he had raised, and hoping to conciliate the favour of the prisoners, Mazarin released them ; but he himself was obliged to fly, first to Liege and then to Cologne. Yet he exercised the same influence over Anne of Austria as though he had never quitted the court. With the aid of De Retz, he detached Turenne and his brother, the Duke of Bouillon, from the party of Frondeurs, and then re-entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé flew to arms, and was declared guilty of high treason by the parliament, at the same time that it set a price upon the head of Mazarin, against whom only he had taken the field. In this extremity of fortune, Condé threw himself upon the protection of Spain, and, after pursuing the cardinal and the court from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. The people applauded his valour, and the parliament were struck with awe. Turenne, who commanded the army of the king, now conducted him within sight of the capital, and Louis, from the height of Charonne, beheld the famous battle of St. Antoine, where the two greatest generals of the age performed wonders at the head of a few men. The Duke of Orleans, doubtful what course to pursue, remained shut up in his palace, and his example was followed by the coadjutor-archbishop, now Cardinal de Retz. The parliament awaited in silence the result of the combat, and the people, equally afraid of both parties, shut the gates of the city. The battle hung long doubtful, and many gallant noblemen were killed or wounded. It was at length terminated in favour of the Prince of Condé by the intrepidity of the daughter of the Duke of Orleans. This princess, more resolute than her father, had the boldness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was forced to retire. The king, then but fifteen years of age, attended by Mazarin, witnessed the battle from the heights of Charonne. The princess, it was understood, aspired to gain the heart of Condé, and when the first cannon was fired from the Bastile by her order, Mazarin said to the king, " That shot has killed her husband."

Condé entered Paris, which soon grew too hot to hold him, and he left it, while Louis, having attained his majority, attempted to appease his subjects by appearing to dismiss Mazarin. He repaired to Sedan in 1652, after which the king again took possession of Paris ; and in order to restore entire tranquillity, he issued a proclamation, in which he dismissed his minister, while he praised his services and lamented his banishment. Quiet having returned, Louis, in February, 1653, invited him back to Paris. The king received him like a father, the people submitted to him as a master. Princes, ambassadors, and the parliament hastened to wait upon him. The disturbances in the provinces were soon entirely quelled, and Condé, who had fled to the Spanish Netherlands, was declared a traitor. The Spaniards had profited by the internal dissensions to conquer from France Barcelona, Gravelines, and Dunkirk. Mazarin now prosecuted the war with Spain with redoubled diligence, and for that end formed an alliance in 1656 with Cromwell. On this occasion he despatched an embassy to Cromwell, in which the Duke de Crequi, and Mancini, duke de Nevers, appeared, followed by two hundred gentlemen. Man-

OROWWILL RECEIVING MAZAHIR'S LETTER.



cini presented a letter to the Protector from the cardinal, of which the language is not a little remarkable. It in substance declared that "he was much grieved to find it was not in his power to pay his respects personally to the greatest man in the world." Whether Richelieu would have held this flattering language to such a personage may be matter of doubt. By this means, Dunkirk was again taken and a peace soon after concluded. Mazarin himself negotiated with the Spanish minister, Don Louis de Haro, on the isle of Pheasants. This peace of the Pyrenees was followed by the marriage of the king with the Spanish infanta, and Mazarin gained great honour by his successful policy. He was now more powerful than ever; he appeared with regal pomp, being regularly attended by a company of musketeer guards, in addition to his body-guard.

From this time until his death in 1661, Mazarin held uncontested sway over the destinies of France. He left at his death an immense fortune, and though he came to France an indigent foreigner, he married seven daughters to French noblemen of the first distinction, and left his nephew Duke of Nevers. He had the singular honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, at the very time when it was distracted by intestine wars, and when, in the case of the treaty of Westphalia, he was himself an exile: and to his political foresight in regard to the Spanish succession, the house of Bourbon owed much of its subsequent influence in the affairs of Europe.

Louis, who had been a mere puppet in the hands of his minister, now came to the sovereign power. Colbert, a friend and disciple of Mazarin, was placed at the head of the finances, and rendered them more flourishing than they had been for years; commerce augmented; Dunkirk and Marseilles were declared free ports, and filled with the ships of all nations; Paris was much embellished, and her streets were paved and lighted; and the canal of Languedoc, for uniting the ocean with the Mediterranean, was begun. Literature, which had been adorned in England under Charles I. by Milton and Ben Jonson, now shone resplendent in France through the genius of Molière, Racine, and Boileau. Heroes like Condé and Turenne led the armies of France to certain victory, and the sagacity, activity, and zeal of Louvois prepared both the way and the means.

Ferdinand III. had been succeeded in Germany by his son Leopold, after a stormy interregnum of fifteen months. (A. D. 1658.) As head of the Austrian house, and Emperor of Germany, he was naturally a rival and enemy of Louis. Besides Austria, he possessed Bohemia and Hungary; he had extensive military forces in his hereditary states; and Spain was attached to his cause both by family ties and political interest. But poor in ideas of his own, adhering merely to customary forms and transmitted axioms, a docile tool of unfaithful ministers and bad priests, afraid of light, inactive, fearing heresy rather than the arms of Louis, and his subjects' love of liberty more than his victorious neighbours the Turks, revering his confessor as first counsellor and the Jesuits as men of salvation, Leopold dreamed quietly of the immutable grandeur of his house, or left the care of it to heaven and his allies, while the

ambitious and active ruler of France was building himself an empire at the expense of Austria.

At the death of Philip IV. of Spain, Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, the daughter of Philip by his first marriage. He asserted in support of his claim, that females could inherit according to the custom of Brabant, and that his queen should have precedence of an infant brother, the offspring of a second marriage. Anna Maria of Austria, the queen-regent of Spain, like her relative Leopold, paid far more attention to heresies than to the encroachments of her neighbours. She was entirely governed by her German confessor, the Jesuit Nithard, whose arrogance and ignorance are best exemplified by his own remark to a disrespectful nobleman. "You ought," said he, "to revere the man who has every day your God in his hands and your queen at his feet."

Louis entered Flanders at the head of a powerful army, and found the Spaniards almost wholly unprepared for resistance. With Turenne for general, he was invincible. Charleroi, Ath, Tournai, Furnes, Courtrai, Douai, and Lille, all fell into his hands in quick succession; he garrisoned them with French troops, and employed the celebrated Vauban to construct new fortifications. Immediately after this campaign, Louis marched into the Spanish province of Franche Comté, and, though it was in the middle of winter, he conquered it in less than a month. Fortifications falling into ruin, a treasury without money, ports without ships, troops without discipline, officers ill-paid and incompetent,—these were the only preparations which Nithard opposed to the arms of an enemy whose affairs were in a condition totally the reverse.

All Europe was startled at the success of Louis. Troops were immediately raised in all parts of the German empire; the Swiss trembled for that liberty for which they professed so much reverence; the Dutch, friends of France at a distance, dreaded her as a close neighbour. They found relief in the midst of their fears, from an unexpected quarter. Charles II., who was now seated on the throne of England, either jealous of Louis or anxious to acquire popularity, concluded a defensive alliance between England and Holland; and Sweden shortly afterwards acceded to it. (A. D. 1668.)

The politic Louis stopped short in his career. He affected contempt at the daring of a little state like Holland, to think of checking him, but finding that the coalition would succeed in its object, he himself proposed to open conferences at Aix la Chapelle. Clement IX. was appointed mediator, and he therefore sent a nuncio to the congress. The despised Dutch refused to follow this course, and insisted on their ambassador, Van Beunning, treating personally with Louis, and that which was then agreed upon was forwarded to Aix la Chapelle to be formally signed. The determined tone of Van Beunning greatly chafed the mighty monarch, whose imperious grandeur, according to Voltaire, was shocked at every turn. Nor would Beunning's republican inflexibility submit to the tone of superiority assumed by France and Spain. In short, a peace was concluded, in authoritative manner, by a burgo-master, at the court of the most superb of monarchs, by which the King of

France was compelled to restore Franche Compté. This pacified the mass of complainants, though the Dutch would gladly have torn the Low Countries from his grasp. Louis was aware that he did better by keeping Flanders, whence he conceived plans to destroy Holland at the very time he appeared to comply with all its demands.

The French king had to endure another mortification. The Turks, under the administration of the Vizier Kuproeli, had again become formidable. They compelled the German emperor to conclude peace on terms highly favourable to their interests, and wrested Candia from the Venetians, in spite of the efforts made by Louis to save the place. In the siege of the city, the Turks excelled the Christians in their knowledge of the military art; the largest cannon Europe had ever seen were cast in their camp; they drew parallel lines in the trenches, and while an Italian engineer supplied this knowledge, Europe acquired it there. The Turks might now have extended their conquest over all Italy, but for their bad generals, their weak monarchs, and their debasing system of government.

None of his designs upon Holland could be well accomplished by Louis without the aid of Charles of England. Being well acquainted with the profligate habits of the English monarch, Louis was enabled to conclude a secret treaty with him, in which it was agreed that Charles should receive a large pension from France, in return for which he should co-operate in the conquest of the Netherlands, propagate the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly announce his conversion to that religion. The bargain having been concluded, the war was immediately commenced. Louis, without waiting for a pretext, seized the duchy of Lorraine; and Charles attempted the capture of a Dutch fleet before he had announced his dissatisfaction with the late treaty. The Swedes, forgetting the triple alliance, suffered themselves to maintain a hired neutrality. Louis led a hundred thousand men well equipped to the frontiers, a force the like of which Europe had never seen. Turenne and Condé, each a host in himself, led this enormous force, and under their direction the wise Marshal of Luxembourg, and the great Vauban, who immortalized himself in the science of fortifications and sieges, fought with an emulation worthy of such models. The troops of Maximilian of Bavaria contributed to swell the numbers of this host, and the terrified Dutch saw the unprincipled Bernard von Galen, bishop of Munster, advancing hostilely against them, while the Emperor, the princes of the empire, and Spain remained idle spectators. Louis ordered his troops to advance towards the Rhine in those provinces which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. The division which he himself accompanied numbered 30,000 men, and was commanded by Turenne, while Condé led another; the remainder were kept separate under Chamilli and Luxembourg. Orsoi, Wesel, Burick, and Rhinberg fell without a stroke; the towns on the Rhine and the Issel surrendered in quick succession, some of the governors sending their keys the moment they caught a view of the French, others flying away in consternation, while a part, yet more base, opened their gates for a consideration in gold. It was the general expectation that all Holland would

be subdued as soon as Louis crossed the Rhine. Inquiring of the country people, the French learned that from the dryness of the season the Rhine was fordable opposite an old town used by the Hollanders as a toll-house, near where the Issel separates from the Rhine. Keeping the intention secret, Louis set out late in the evening of June 7th, 1672, taking with him the heavy cavalry; once across, he could easily maintain his position till the remainder of the army followed. Condé accompanied him. The king directed the Count de Guiche to sound the river; it was discovered that only forty or fifty paces in the middle required swimming. As there were on the Holland side only 400 or 500 cavalry, the passage was considered easy; and the household troops and the best of the cavalry, to the number of 15,000, safely crossed under cover of the French artillery.

The Dutch cavalry fled with little opposition, and the infantry laid down their arms and begged for quarter. Except a few drunken soldiers no lives were lost in the passage, nor would one have been killed but for the imprudence of the Duke of Longueville, who, being intoxicated himself, fired a pistol at one of the suppliant soldiers, exclaiming, "No quarter to such scoundrels!" The shot killed one of the officers, the Dutch infantry flew to their arms and fired a volley, whereby the duke was slain. A captain of horse, named Ossebronn, who had not fled, ran up to Condé, then in the act of mounting his horse, and clapped his pistol to the prince's head. Condé, by a quick movement, diverted the direction of the shot, so that he was only wounded in the wrist. However strange it may seem, this was the only wound the Prince of Condé ever received in all his campaigns. The French became enraged, and pursuing the enemy killed several, but had the Hollanders conducted with the skill and management they had shown in former days, the passage of the Rhine might have cost their invaders dear. The wound of Condé was sufficient to disable him, and he appears to have been absent for some time. Immediately after the passage of the Rhine, Doesbourg, Skeck, Bommel, and Crevecœur fell into the hands of the French, Utrecht surrendered, Guelders and Naerden followed its example; one step more and Amsterdam had fallen too, and with it the little republic.

William III. of Orange was its saviour. At the approach of danger this prince, but twenty-two years of age, was elected captain-general. The people needed a name in which they could confide. The prince soon displayed talents worthy of his name. Moderate, self-commanding, taciturn, firm, bold, indefatigable, prepared for every exploit, this young warrior commanded confidence from the commencement of his career. When consternation was general, when the danger was hourly and fearfully increasing, he showed himself calm, undaunted, able in action and in counsel. He collected all the means of defence that were left, called on the European courts for aid, and reanimated the national spirit of his companions. The love of independence and the hatred of foreign dominion broke out with inconceivable ardour in Amsterdam, where the nobler and the more wealthy citizens were resolved to emigrate to the East Indies rather than to submit to France. The Dutch populace ungratefully

PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.



vented their rage upon their able pensionary, John de Witt, and his brother Cornelius. The latter was arrested on a charge of treason, and when his brother John went to visit and console him, a tumult arose in the streets, the prison doors were forced open, and both the brothers were dragged out and immediately murdered, with circumstances of the most disgusting barbarity. Just before this tragical occurrence, De Witt had been removed from his office of pensionary, and the stadtholdership, with the dignities attached to it, had been given to William of Orange and made hereditary in his family. Two years later, the dignities of captain-general and grand admiral were added to his title of stadtholder, and his prerogatives were greatly extended. Guelders even offered him absolute sovereignty.

The victorious progress of Louis was soon to be ended. The people of Holland dug through the dykes, the sea rushed in and overwhelmed the whole country, so that Amsterdam appeared like a vast fortress in the midst of the ocean, surrounded by ships of war, which came up to its very gates. The crops were ruined and the cattle drowned; yet the people bore the loss with a resignation only equalled by their firm determination not to survive the destruction of the country. Several efforts were made to corrupt the Prince of Orange, but they were sternly rejected; when told that the ruin of his country was inevitable, he replied that there was one way by which he could be certain not to see its ruin, to die disputing the last ditch. His resolution awakened the admiration of all Europe, and the Emperor Leopold, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the governor of the Spanish Netherlands took up arms in defence of Holland, while Louis, finding that no more conquests were to be made in a country covered with water, returned home, leaving garrisons in the captured fortresses.

The war was continued for six years longer, during which nearly every place that had been taken by the French in the United Provinces was recovered. The fortune of war was again turned, however, and the Dutch sought a peace. Louis therefore concluded the treaty of Nimeguen, by which France acquired an increase of power, dangerous to all the neighbouring states. (A. D. 1678.)

In the same year the Prince of Orange married the princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, a union which afterwards brought him to the throne of England. Inexhaustible in expedients, he had fought gloriously, though unsuccessfully, against Turenne, Condé, Schomberg, Luxembourg, and the Duke of Orleans. During the war, the great Turenne lost his life by a fatal shot near Sasbach, while reconnoitering the position of the enemy. The ball which killed him carried away the arm of General de St. Hilaire, who, upon his son's bursting out into tears at the sight, exclaimed, "Not for me, but for this great man must you weep." The highest honour was shown by the king to his remains. Turenne possessed, under a rough and ordinary exterior, a great mind. His disposition was cold; his manners decorous and simple. He was not always fortunate in war, and committed some errors; but he always repaired them, and accomplished much with small means. He was esteemed the most skilful commander in Europe, even at a time when the art of war was

more studied than it had ever been before. Although reproached for deserting his party in the wars of the Fronde; although at the age of nearly sixty years he suffered himself to be seduced by love to disclose a state secret; although he committed unnecessary cruelties in his wars; yet he maintained the reputation of a man of veracity, wisdom, and moderation; for his super-eminent virtues and talents amply sufficed to cover the weaknesses and the faults which he had in common with so many others.

After the peace of Nimeguen, it would have been politic for Louis to have ceased prosecuting for a while his plans of aggrandizement; but he immediately after established the *Reunions* at Metz and Brisach. A number of places with all their appurtenances had been ceded to him by the late treaties, though it had not been decided what really did appertain to them. It was the office of these chambers of *reunions* to accord him under the form of right every thing that could be considered in any way as belonging to those places. France, in this manner, acquired large districts on the borders of the Netherlands and of Germany. Louis would gladly have obtained Strasburg, but as even the chambers of *reunions* could start no formal claim to it, this important place was quietly surrounded by soldiers, and compelled to surrender, in 1681, without striking a blow.

On the same day that Strasburg fell, the Marquis de Bouffleurs entered Cassel, which had been sold to the king by the Duke of Mantua. In the succeeding years, the Chambers, acting always to the satisfaction of their master, decreed the occupation of Courtrai, Dixmude, and Luxembourg. The diet of Ratisbon exhausted itself in useless protestations against the course of the French monarch. It was evident that Louis wished for war, and, without the usual initiative, that intention was sufficiently announced by his armaments, so much so that no declaration was necessary. A hundred and fifty thousand men, well armed and well disciplined, were exercised in camp manœuvres every day. Vauban made of France one vast camp, with entrenchments for twenty millions of men; while, under the genius of the wise minister Colbert, she became a maritime power. The military port of Brest was enlarged; that of Toulon created, at an immense expense, and rendered capable of containing a hundred vessels of war, with an arsenal and a proportionate *materiel*. The like was done at Dunkirk, and on a still greater scale at Rochefort. Companies of coast guards were created, and sixty thousand new sailors were obtained from the mercantile shipping. In a short time Louis XIV. had two hundred ships, and a hundred thousand seamen to man them. This was effected by the Marquis de Seignelay, the son of the deceased Colbert.

To prove to Europe that this young navy, which had been created in a day, would be capable of sustaining its rank among its marine rivals, Louis sent his squadron, under the command of Admiral Duquesne, to clear the Mediterranean of the pirates by whom it had been infested. He avenged himself on Algiers by a new art, the discovery of which was due to that attention which he had bestowed on calling into action all the genius of his age. This dismal, but admirable art, consisted in the employment of bomb-ships, by

BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIEERS.



means of which maritime cities might be reduced to ashes. There was then living a young man by the name of Bernard Renaud, who, without having served in a ship, had become, by the mere exertions of genius, an excellent mariner. Colbert loved to detect merit in obscurity, and had often caused him to be brought before the council on marine affairs, even in the presence of the king. It was from the care, labour, and intelligence of Renaud, acted upon by a more regular method, that after some time the workmen under the government succeeded in the construction of galliots. He did not scruple to propose to the council that Algiers should be bombarded by the fleet. Till then, no one had had an idea that mortars with bombs could by possibility be used anywhere but on land. The proposition was thought extravagant. Renaud had to bear those contradictions, and that unsparing ridicule which every inventor ought to expect; but the firmness and eloquence of this man, added to a strong sense of the importance of his invention, induced the king to permit an experiment to be made with the formidable novelty. In consequence of this decision, Renaud caused five vessels to be constructed, smaller than ordinary ships, but with stronger timbers, without a deck, with a false tiller in the hold, on which they formed masses of brickwork, capable of receiving the mortars which were to be employed. He sailed with this preparation, under the orders of the old Admiral Duquesne, who was intrusted with the command of the expedition, but who avowed that he had no expectation of success. He was no less astonished than the Algerines to find that by the bombs a great portion of the city was in ruins or consumed in a short time. Thrice was Algiers bombarded by Duquesne and D'Estrees, and forced to give up all Christian prisoners and to sue for peace. This art soon found its way to other nations, and served but to extend the list of human calamities. It was more than once used with the most fatal effect against France, where it was invented.

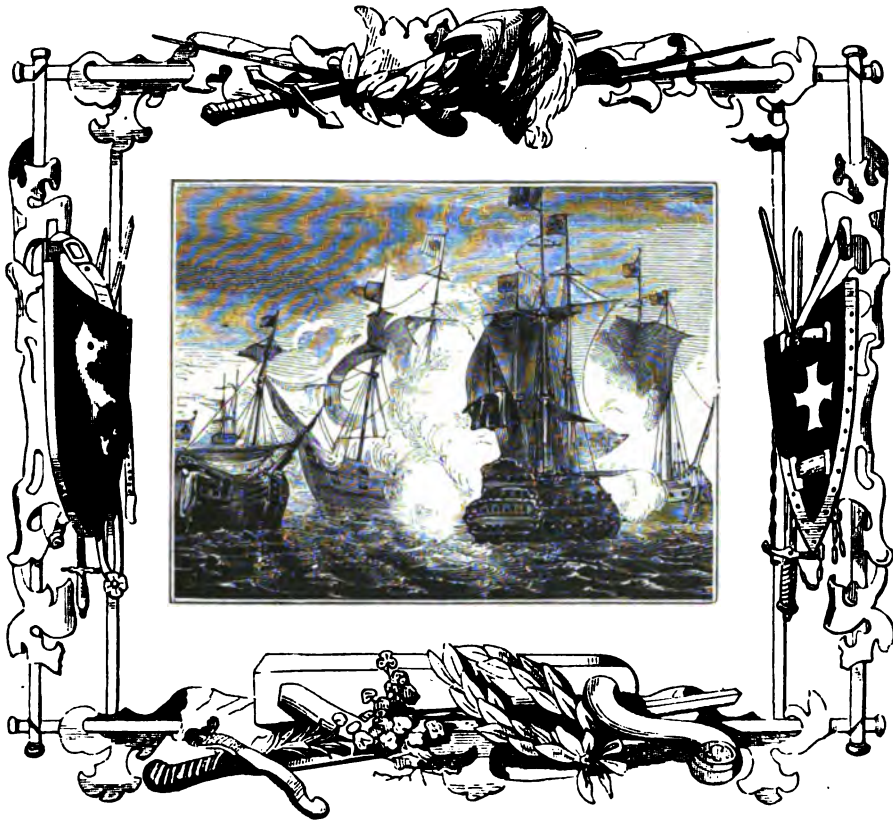
Having concluded the war in the Mediterranean, Louis humbled the pride and arrogance of the Genoese, offended the pope, and prepared actively for a war with coalesced Europe. In the name of the Duchess of Orleans, a princess of the palatine house, he demanded a large part of the inheritance of her brother, the Elector Charles. At the same time Cardinal Egon, of Furstenburg, a man devoted to the interests of Louis, was at his desire appointed archbishop and Elector of Cologne. But the Emperor declared this prince indifferent to the interests of Germany, and procured the archbishopric for Joseph Clement, prince of Bavaria. (A. D. 1688.)

Louis invaded the empire immediately, took in the first campaign Philipsburg, with many other cities on the Rhine, and laid the country far around under contribution. The Emperor was incessantly occupied with the Turks; the empire, as usual, was weak, divided, almost lifeless. Spain could do nothing; Denmark and England were in alliance with Louis; and the whole hope of the continent centered in William of Orange. Suddenly this gallant prince became King of England, and his elevation was the signal for the decline of the grandeur of his adversary, Louis XIV.

The enemies of France gradually concluded an alliance at Vienna. (1689 and 1690.) England now closely connected with Holland, Bavaria, and Saxony; Spain and Savoy, and even Denmark acceded to the alliance, and Louis stood alone. The Swiss, however, concluded a treaty of neutrality with him, and the Turks, for their own interests, waged war against the empire. In a nine years' war against one half of Europe, France again displayed her astonishing power, and remained, though without decisive triumph, rather victorious than vanquished. From the frontiers of Germany, the first theatre of hostilities, the war extended gradually to the Netherlands, to Ireland, Italy, Spain, and even to the seas and countries of the New World. On the Rhine, the king took the defensive, and attempted to secure his frontiers by making the palatinate on both banks of that river a desert. The inhabitants still recall the day when their ancestors were told that the whole palatinate must be abandoned, because the army of his most Christian majesty had received orders to lay it in ruins with fire and sword, to destroy the innumerable towns and villages, flourishing and populous, which diversified its surface. Heidelberg, Spire, Frankenthal, and Worms still exhibit the ruins of their ancient walls, show traces of the torch which consumed them, point to the desecrated graves of the electors, and mourn the ashes of the ancient Emperors, scattered to the winds.

King William, who was the most odious of all his enemies to Louis, experienced severely the displeasure of the French monarch. The fugitive king, James II., having met with a most brilliant reception at the French court, soon sailed with a well-equipped fleet to Ireland. Louis also projected a descent upon England, in favour of the exiled king. In July, 1690, the illustrious Admiral Tourville had gained a brilliant victory over the combined fleets of England and Holland, near Dieppe, and France for a time was mistress of the sea. But two years afterwards the same admiral was completely defeated by Lord Russell near La Hogue, after a naval engagement of three days. The English proudly boasted that the maritime power of France was destroyed for ever. But a few days after the battle, that portion of the French fleet which escaped succeeded in capturing two merchant fleets.

In the following year the squadron of Tourville and D'Estrees formed ninety-five sail. On the 27th of June, 1693, Tourville attacked between Logos and Cadiz a convoy of the Levant, escorted by twenty-seven ships of war under Admiral Sir George Rooke. But fifteen ships of the escort escaped; the rest were taken or sunk with the convoy consisting of eighty sail. This single victory cost the allies more than 40,000,000. But it was not so much the royal navies that damaged the commerce of England and Holland as the corsairs, which were most active in their depredations. Squadrons or single cruisers, commanded by Jean Bart, Duguay-Trouan, Forbin, Nesmond, and Pointis Ducasse, enriched Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, and St. Malo with the spoils of the merchants of London, Cadiz, and Amsterdam. In the course of nine years, St. Malo saw two hundred and sixty-two ships of war, and three thousand three



TOURVILLE'S VICTORY NEAR DIEPPE.

hundred and eighty merchant vessels brought as prizes into its harbour. The English wished to make short work of these insignificant towns. St. Malo was attacked first; but the infernal machine which was to have reduced it to ashes missed its aim, and spent itself in illuminating the ocean for more than half a league around. In the following year Brest was attempted, but in vain. Vauban had armed the road with four hundred pieces of cannon. Unfortunately, Dieppe was reduced to ruins. Havre was bombarded with little effect, and two new infernal machines failed before Dunkirk, as the first had before St. Malo. The Dutch had even the mortification to see from their coast Jean Bart surprise their fleet, snatch from it a prize convoy of grain, which Louis had caused to be brought from the Baltic, and carry it triumphantly through the midst of a blockading English squadron into Dunkirk.



IN the Netherlands, the war was bloody and fortune fickle. Luxembourg, the great pupil of Condé and Turenne, commanded the forces of Louis, and gained the first great victory, at Fleurus. (July 16, 1690.) But King William arrested the progress of the victor through all the following year. Luxembourg first gained the decided superiority in 1692, and took the strong city of Namur. On the third of August, William attempted to surprise him at Steinkirk, and partially succeeded. Luxembourg, though severely indisposed, rallied the fugitives, placed himself at their head, and soon restored the battle, and forced the English to retreat. Desirous not to be in debt, Luxembourg afterwards repaid the attempt of William by surprising him at Nerwinde. The king lay in an entrenched camp defended by a hundred pieces of cannon, where he was suddenly attacked by Luxembourg, whom he supposed to be far away besieging Liege. Three times the village was taken and retaken. Luxembourg threw himself into the entrenchments. William sustained the attack for ten hours, when a reserved body of the French king's household troops, having taken Nerwinde in the rear, established Luxembourg definitively in possession of the village. "Oh! the insolent nation," was the exclamation of William, as he retired from before the charge of the French cavalry. The allies precipitately retreated, leaving on the battle-field twelve thousand killed and wounded, two thousand prisoners, seventy-six pieces of cannon, eight mortars, nine pontoons, the materiel of their artillery, sixty standards, and twenty-two colours. This was the last campaign of Luxembourg, and, we may add, the most honourable. He died at Versailles, January 4th, 1695, and was succeeded by a courtier named Villeroy, whose operations were a series of faults, profiting by which, William retook Namur, and had the advantage till the end of the war.

In Italy, Marshal Catinat acquired scarcely less glory than Luxembourg. He defeated the Duke of Savoy at Staffard, August, 1690, and followed up his victory by another, in which the enemy left twelve thousand men and all his artillery on the field of battle. The duke abandoned all Piedmont to the victors. But the war was by this time very much out of favour in France, and even Louis himself was desirous of peace. He therefore invited the mediation of Sweden, and proposals were submitted by the mediator to Holland and the Emperor. While the attention of Europe was directed to the progress of this negotiation, Louis concluded a treaty with Victor of Savoy, judging it better, as at Nimeguen, to separate the allies by detaching their interests. The duke received favourable terms; he recovered his states, even Pignerol, which however was dismantled; and married his daughter to the Duke of Burgundy, the grandson of Louis XIV. The other allies, having renewed their alliance in the Hague, August 18, 1695, continued the war, but without advantage. The French, who had previously made an irruption into Catalonia, now subjected Barcelona. In the New World, the Commodore de Pointis surprised Cartha-

THE DUKE OF ANJOU PROCLAIMED KING OF SPAIN.



gena, one of the richest cities in Spanish America, inflicted on the Spaniards a loss of thirty millions, and returned to France, having successfully avoided the British cruisers; while Duguay-Trouin captured a Dutch fleet on its way from Bilboa.

Spain now hastened to bring the war to a conclusion, and a general peace was speedily concluded at Ryswick, A. D. 1697. By this treaty Louis engaged not to disturb King William in the possession of his states, and to give his enemies no assistance. Between France and Holland all old and new pretensions were to be reciprocally annihilated. Spain recovered what it had lost by conquest, or by the chambers of reunion, with some few exceptions. The treaty with the Emperor and the empire gave Strasburg to Louis, but restored all the other places which he had gained since the treaty of Nimeguen, with Friburg, Brisach, and Philipsburg. The Duke of Lorraine recovered his country also, with the exception of Sarrelouis; the King of France retaining the right to a free passage through the duchy. In regard to all other considerations, the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen were expressly confirmed. Europe was astonished at the moderation of France. In the war, she had found both victory and glory, and it was unusual for her to show forbearance toward an unsuccessful enemy. The wise saw in this relinquishment of one scheme of ambition the prognostics of others far more dangerous.

The declining health of the King of Spain, Charles II., engaged the general attention of Europe after the peace of Ryswick; three princes being candidates for the succession—Louis XIV., the Emperor Leopold, and the Elector of Bavaria. A secret treaty of partition was concluded between Louis and William of Orange, but Charles II. received an intimation of this transaction, and, enraged that his dominions should be shared before his death, he proclaimed the Prince of Bavaria sole heir. But this prince soon after died suddenly, and negotiations were renewed. The Spanish court decided in favour of the Archduke Charles, the younger son of the Emperor Leopold, and only demanded that the Emperor should send this prince to Spain, with a body of twelve thousand men. But the imperial court, with unaccountable parsimony, declined the proposal. A new treaty of division was arranged by France, Holland, and England, but the Emperor protested against it. Meanwhile, by adroitness and gold, the French minister at Madrid had gained over a powerful party for the Bourbon interest; the pope, Innocent XII., was induced to decide in favour of the French claims; a new will was made, and Philip, duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis, was nominated heir to the crown of Spain. (A. D. 1700.)

Charles soon after died, and Louis, with some hesitation between the will and the partition treaty, proclaimed his grandson King of Spain, under the title of Philip V. He went to Madrid in 1701; all the provinces submitted, some silently, others with servile acclamations. England and Holland also acknowledged him as king. All the other powers did the same; the Emperor only excepted. He immediately declared his opposition, and sent troops against

Milan as an opened fief of the empire ; his troops being led by Prince Eugene of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of the age.

The Emperor also earnestly solicited the other powers to league with him for the highest interests of his house, as well as for those of Europe. The maritime powers concluded an alliance with the Emperor, which, however, would probably have been frustrated by the British parliament, but for the imprudence of Louis in hazarding an insult to the British nation. (A. D. 1701.) On the death of James II., Louis caused his son, commonly called the old pretender, to be recognised King of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. (A. D. 1701.)



HE parliament at once entered heartily into the war, which they had hitherto disapproved, and the death of William himself did not abate their ardour. His successor, Queen Anne, declared her intention of adhering to the policy of her predecessor. The empire, the Emperor, England, and Holland were now again all at war with France. At the commencement of the same year, 1702, Frederic I., King of Prussia, formerly Elector of Brandenburg, entered into a strict alliance with the Emperor, in grateful acknowledgment of the deference shown by Leopold in recognising him in his new quality of king. With the exception of Bavaria and Cologne, the whole empire was united with its head, and Portugal and Savoy were also withdrawn from the French alliance. France, however, preserved the advantage during the first years of hostilities. The first event of the war was the defeat of the French at Chiari on the Oglio ; their forces being there conducted by Catinat and Villeroi, under the Duke of Savoy. In the following year, Eugene surprised Cremona, where Villeroi was made prisoner. The French king appointed the Duke of Vendome to the head of the army ; this favourite of the soldiers revived their courage and led them to victory at Luzara.

About this time, a formidable enemy to France arose in England, in the person of Churchill, duke of Marlborough, who governed Anne through the ascendancy which his wife had gained over that queen. Of all the enemies France has had, Marlborough was, perhaps, the most terrible. In 1702, he beat the Duke of Burgundy and Marshal Boufflers in Flanders, and freed the whole country on the Meuse from Spanish domination. The same year the French and Spanish fleets were beaten in the port of Vigo in Galicia by Admiral Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, who captured the rich galleons from the Havana. In Germany, Catinat had hesitated to cross the Rhine, but Villars, who was his lieutenant, resolved to repair the disasters of his country, passed the river and assailed the enemy near the castle of Friedlingen. Notwithstanding a terrible fire of artillery and musketry, the French troops carried the heights of Tulick, the possession of which decided the fate of the day. The imperial troops were overthrown and driven from the field, but a moment of

BATTLE OF FRIEDLINGEN.



trouble wellnigh changed the triumph into a defeat. The troops, carried on by the ardour of pursuit, had followed the enemy into the plain almost to the castle of Friedlingen, when they suddenly found themselves surrounded by a party of the enemy. This was the cavalry of the Prince of Baden, which had been forced by that of Villars. The French infantry thought themselves cut off from the rest of the army, and a cry of alarm sounded through the battalions. Villars marked the disorder and hesitation, ran up to the front, seized a standard, and led them again into the fight, shouting *Vive le Roi*—the victory is ours. His presence of mind restored the fortune of his arms, the enemy was routed, and the soldiers of Villars proclaimed him a Marshal of France on the field. The king ratified the choice and wrote to the victorious general, ‘I unite my voice to that of my brave soldiers.’”

Villars followed up his success by a second victory at Höchstett, at the same time that the French general Tallard gained a victory at Spirbach, thereby opening up the road to Vienna. But the Duke of Savoy changed sides at the very time when the able Villars was recalled in consequence of a disagreement between himself and the Elector of Bavaria. The Count Marsin succeeded to the head of the army, while Villars was sent to put down an insurrection of the Protestant refugees in the Cevennes. Portugal also deserted the French alliance, and this series of disasters did not end here.

Tallard having led an army into Germany, and formed a junction with the Elector of Bavaria and Count Marsin, the combined leaders met the enemy under Marlborough and Eugene. Each army was about eighty thousand strong, and the battle was fought at Höchstett, at the very spot and almost on the anniversary of that which Villars had gained the preceding year. Fortune was at this time unpropitious to France. Tallard was taken prisoner, and his colleagues retreated in such an unskilful manner that their troops were totally routed. France lost fifty thousand men and a hundred leagues of territory. Tallard’s misfortune is to be ascribed to his defective vision. His troops fled in all directions, and the panic was complete; thousands threw themselves into the Danube and were drowned. Great numbers sought shelter in the adjacent village of Blenheim, which gives its name to the battle; there 1300 officers and 12,000 common soldiers laid down their arms to the Earl of Orkney. The earl had entered the village on horseback, accompanied by a French officer named Desnouilles. His brother officers crowded around them and said, “Do you bring an English prisoner with you?” He replied, “No, gentlemen, I am the prisoner, and come to tell you that you have no other course to take but surrender yourselves prisoners of war; and here is my Lord Orkney, who offers you terms of capitulation.” All these veterans expressed the utmost astonishment; the regiment of Navarre tore their colours and buried them under the ground. Compelled however by necessity, they yielded.*

Eugene now swept all Bavaria; Prince Louis of Baden took Landau; and Marlborough, having repassed the Rhine, made himself master of Treves and

* Bonnechose. Voltaire. Bensley.

Traarback. The Elector of Bavaria, now become a fugitive, retired to Brussels; the electress submitted to the terms of the victors. Ingoldstadt and all the fortified places in the electorate, with their magazines, were given up to the allies; the towns and cities before conquered by France were restored to the empire. Marlborough was made a prince of the empire, by way of testifying the gratitude of the Germans for his eminent services. It is said that in his flight the Elector of Bavaria met with his brother, the Elector of Cologne, who was likewise driven from his dominions; they embraced each other and shed tears.



THE war of the Cevennes became every day more formidable. The Calvinist mountaineers organized themselves into regular regiments, under the name of Camisards. Louis XIV. so far subdued his pride as to treat, as power with power, with such of their chiefs as had escaped his executioners; and one of these, named Cavalier, celebrated for his invincible valour, and formerly but a baker's boy, obtained a colonel's commission and a pension from the proud sovereign who had revoked the Edict of Nantes. Villars was the

author of this necessary peace. In 1704, Spain lost Gibraltar, which was seized by the English, and has ever since remained in their possession. In 1705, under Peterborough, they took Barcelona, where the Archduke Charles was proclaimed King of Spain, and the series of misfortunes which pursued the sovereigns of Spain and France was alone broken by the victory of Cassano in Piedmont, gained by Vendome over Eugene. In 1706, Marlborough gained the battle of Ramilies over Villeroi, and thus opened to himself the Spanish Netherlands. It is said that Villeroi made the most disadvantageous disposition of his troops, and that all his officers foresaw the consequences and endeavoured to change his resolution. But he was inflexible, "mad for glory." The French lost 20,000 in killed and prisoners, 120 stands of colours, and 50 pieces of cannon; the confederates less than 4000 in killed and wounded. A French army was also routed before Turin by Prince Eugene. The Duke of Orleans and Marshal Marsin were the leaders who were defeated in this battle. Their 60,000 troops were put to flight, and their military chest, with one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the enemy. The Milanese, Mantua, and the Kingdom of Naples were by this ill-fortune lost to Philip V. Eugene marched upon France, while Lord Galloway took possession of Madrid, and there proclaimed the archduke.

The Emperor Leopold had died in the preceding year, and his son and successor, Joseph I., prosecuted the war with vigour. He put the Electors of

Bavaria and Cologne under the ban of the empire, and deprived them of their electorates. Every ally was lost to France, and all her frontiers were exposed to the victorious enemy. Villars, again at the head of her forces, now revived the hopes of the French by some slight successes in Germany; Marshal Berwick, the natural son of James II., gained the celebrated victory of Almanza, 1707; and Marshal de Tesse obliged the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon.

The face of affairs in Spain began to experience a change. The Spaniards, when they saw the English at Madrid, rose to defend King Philip. "Charles, by the grace of heretics," as they called him, was an abomination to them. They therefore supported the French army of auxiliaries with such zeal that Philip was soon able to enter his capital, and his cause triumphed in all Spain, except in Catalonia. The victories of the Count Stahremberg at Almenara and Saragossa, 1710, produced a change of a short duration, in consequence of which the archduke entered Madrid. But Vendome terminated quickly this success; he defeated and took at Brihuega the English corps under Stanhope, defeated Stahremberg in the great battle of Villaviciosa, December 9th and 10th, 1710, and drove Charles back to Catalonia. Henceforth the war on the peninsula was but a secondary affair.

In 1708, Louis made another effort in favour of the Pretender; the chevalier Forbin commanded the expedition, but met with no success. By the defeat at Oudenarde and the loss of Lille, the French army was so dispirited that it suffered itself to be dispossessed of Ghent, Bruges, and all its posts in Flanders in succession. The people of France were by this time reduced to a state of utter destitution. The king's favourite and adviser, Madame de Maintenon, lived on oaten bread, the king and his nobles had sent their plate to the mint, and many of the people in the provinces were dying of hunger. The finances were totally exhausted; credit was at an end, insurrections broke out, the taxes were unpaid, and smuggling was carried on in arms by the very troops themselves. Louis saw the absolute necessity of terminating the war, and sent the Marquis de Torci and the president Rouille to solicit peace from the Dutch, whom formerly he had so humiliated. They were now disposed to retaliate, and Marlborough and Eugene each felt that his power depended upon the continuance of the war. They therefore made the terms of peace so humiliating that they knew that Louis would not accede to them, and insisted upon his taking an active part with them in the expulsion of his grandson from Spain. When these terms were communicated to Louis he replied, "If I must make war, I had rather do so against my enemies than against my own children." He caused the exorbitant pretensions of the enemy to be published throughout the kingdom. Indignation aroused patriotism, and the efforts of France were redoubled. Villars and Marshal Bouffleurs were sent against the enemy, and though Marlborough defeated them in the bloody battle of Malplaquet in Flanders, yet he lost twenty thousand of his own men, while Villars escaped with the loss of but eight thousand. (A. D. 1710.)

Louis again attempted to negotiate, with no better success than before.

But the face of affairs was soon changed. The victory of Vendome at Villaviciosa destroyed the army of the archduke in Spain, and a revolution in the English cabinet, by bringing the political enemies of Marlborough into power, destroyed the war influence in the court of Queen Anne.

By the death of Joseph of Germany, the archduke Charles became Emperor, and the reasons which had induced Europe to unite in order to prevent the too great aggrandizement of the house of Bourbon, now operated still more strongly against the ambitious head of that of Austria. A new arrangement was necessary for the preservation of the now recognised law of the balance of power, and England therefore made propositions to France. She demanded of Louis the recognition of Queen Anne and a protestant line of succession; that he should abandon the Low Countries, Naples, and the Milanese to Austria; that he should demolish the port of Dunkirk, and take the necessary measures to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns upon one head. Louis accepted these propositions, and a preliminary treaty was signed at London, October 8, 1711. Holland was inclined to dispute on the subject, but it was vain. Marlborough was recalled, and the Earl of Ormond appointed head of the English army, with orders to remain neutral. Under the influence of England, a general conference was convened at Utrecht, January, 1713. The empire and the Dutch advanced pretensions utterly irreconcilable with the new situation of France. The threat which England held out of treating separately appeared to make but little impression upon the commissioners of the United Provinces. The imposing attitude of their hero, Eugene, who had passed the Sambre, taken Bouchain and Quesnoi, and invested Landrecies, gave a show of colour to their extravagant pretensions. Party differences ran high in France, extending through all parts of the kingdom. It was known that the old king, now seventy-four years of age, could not hope to survive much longer. The death of his only son, which had taken place a year previous, the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy and their eldest son being carried off within the space of a few months, and the last of their children being then in a dying state, all these domestic misfortunes, added to disasters abroad and general misery at home, made the end of the reign of Louis XIV. appear a time marked for calamity, and in which men looked forward to greater humiliations than it had hitherto exhibited of grandeur and glory. Villars took upon himself to baffle the hopes of the Dutch. Eugene continued the blockade of Landrecies, which was momentarily expected to surrender to him. He committed however an error which saved France. His lines were too much extended, his stores at too great a distance, and the position of General Albemarle at Denain prevented his being speedily succoured. Those who know that a curate, together with a counsellor of Douay named Lefevre d'Orval, walking towards these parts, were the first who projected the attack on Denain and Marchiennes, may demonstrate from this fact by what secret and weak springs the greatest affairs of this world are often directed. Lefevre gave his opinion to the governor of the province; he communicated it to Marshal Montesquieu, who commanded under Villars. The general approved of it and put it into



BATTLE OF DENAIN.

execution. This action proved the safety of France rather than the retrocession of England from the allies.*

Villars had recourse to stratagem. Pretending to assault the besieging army round Landrecies, he made a side march suddenly and forced the fortified lines, which the imperialists had designated insolently "the road to Paris," and advanced upon Denain. He found it defended by a palisaded ditch. The French officers applied for fascines to fill it up. "Eugene will not allow you time to obtain or use them," said Villars; "the bodies of those who are the first to fall must serve for our fascines." Animated by his words and example, they rushed with ardour to the assault. Nothing could withstand their impetuosity; they stormed the camp, which was commanded by the Duke of Albemarle, a Dutch general. Albemarle, Nassau, Holstein, Anhalt, and all the officers were made prisoners, and the Count of Brogli was sent to form the siege of Marchiennes, while Villars threw himself before Eugene, who was advancing in great haste to succour Denain. Profiting by a bridge which had not been broken, he ordered attack after attack; but his troops were constantly repulsed, and he was obliged to witness the defeat of his army across the river. He bit his gloves with rage, and vented his indignation in curses.



HE success of this day was complete; the line of operation of the allies was broken; Marchiennes, the centre of their resources, surrendered after a three days' siege, and the conquerors found there an immense supply of munitions of war. Villars successfully recaptured Douay, Quesnoi, and Bouchain; in three months the allies lost fifty-three battalions killed or taken, two

hundred cannon, and enormous quantities of arms and ammunition. The victory of Denain, gained July 24, 1713, saved France and the monarchy, opened for her an honourable way to the congress of Utrecht, and settled the crown as firmly on the head of Louis as did the triumph of Villaviciosa that of Spain upon the head of his grandson.

These great successes hastened the conclusion of peace, which was signed in 1713 at Utrecht. Its leading articles were the renunciation by Philip V. of the succession to the crown of France, the abandonment of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy with the title of king, and of Spanish Flanders to the Emperor, and the cession of Newfoundland, Acadia, and Hudson's Bay to England, which retained likewise Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. Louis guaranteed the succession to the English throne in the Protestant line, and agreed to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, which had cost him immense sums. He gave up a portion of his former conquests in the

* Voltaire.

Netherlands, and regained Lille, Aire, Béthune, and St. Vincent. The Elector of Brandenburg was acknowledged King of Prussia, and obtained Upper Guelders, Neufchatel, and some other territories. The Emperor, Charles VI., refused at first to be a party to this peace, but gave up the contest when Villars passed the Rhine and seized Landau and Friburg. Eugene received immediate orders to negotiate, and Villars, as the representative of Louis, concluded a peace with him at Rastadt.

This, says Voltaire, was perhaps the first instance of two generals meeting at the end of a campaign to treat in the name of their masters. Their conduct at meeting was characteristic. Villars records that one of his first expressions to Eugene was: "Sir, we are not enemies to each other; your enemies are at Vienna, and mine at Versailles." Both indeed had always to struggle against faction at their own courts.

In this treaty no mention was made of the claim which the Emperor pretended upon Spain. Louis kept Strasburg and Landau, which he had before proposed to resign, and Huninguen and New Brisach, which he had offered to demolish. The Emperor obtained the Netherlands, the Milanese, and the kingdom of Naples, dismembered from the Spanish monarchy. Alsace, formerly proposed to be renounced, was now retained by Louis, and let it be added to his honour that he now insisted upon and succeeded in effecting the restoration of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne to all their dominions and honours.

This was the last war in which the great Vauban was engaged; he died during its continuance. He appeared to Louis XIV. as the most worthy to form his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, in the school of war, and that prince was therefore put under his tuition. During more than fifty years that Vauban served France, he was characterized by calm valour, profound experience, and an enlightened humanity, which even in the heat of battle could reconcile his duty with the better feelings of his heart. He entered the army at the age of eighteen, and immediately commenced a series of special and laborious researches which gave to France her most skilful engineer. Many wondered at his learning; and their amazement was changed to admiration when he showed that his courage and his science were equally allied. Mazarin heard of him, procured an interview, and ever afterwards encouraged the efforts of the genius which was to shed so much lustre around the throne of Louis the Great. Meanwhile, Vauban laboured without relaxation; obtaining one result but to pursue a greater, seeking constantly the progress of his difficult art, and, endeavouring in his designs as well to guaranty the lives of his men as the duration of conquests, he created the science of fortification, established it upon new principles, and subjected it to rules which are still the foundation of this branch of military science. In the course of a few years he garnished all the frontier with fortresses, combined a general plan of defence for the kingdom, and assured its strength by the disposition of the forts which he raised, opened new ports on the ocean and the Mediterranean, and conducted in person the greater part of the numerous sieges which signalized the campaigns of this



epoch. By direction of Louis he constructed thirty-three new forts and added new works to three hundred others. He first drew from the soil itself and the water that cheap and simple defence of ditches; and by his happy facility in adapting his plans to the nature of the ground and of the country, to the communications by land and sea, and to the offensive and defensive operations of armies, he acquired the great glory of having given new frontiers to France. He received many flattering testimonials of the estimation in which he was held by the king and his ministers. One of the most precious of these, perhaps, was the letter of Louvois to the Marshal Humieres, directing him to watch particularly over the safety of Vauban, "for you know," says he, "how displeased the king would be if any accident happened to him." It was well known that Vauban exposed himself needlessly to danger, and was as little careful for his personal safety as he was anxious for the safety of his men. At Philipsburg, in 1689, by the most astonishing exertions he succeeded in capturing the city which he himself had formerly fortified. At the siege of Frankenthal, the dauphin who still accompanied Vauban begged him to choose four cannons among those they had just conquered, and he then caused the arms of Vauban to be quartered with those of France upon them.

Vauban had just been raised to the rank of Marshal when he was chosen to command with the dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy. He found himself before Brisach, 1703, in the same situation as at Philipsburg; he was to capture a fortress of his own construction. As, accompanied by his pupil, the duke, he viewed the external defences, the prince said to him, "Sir Marshal, you are about to lose your honour before this city: if you take it, they will say you have not fortified it well; if we are defeated, that you did not second me well." "My lord," said the veteran, "they know how I fortified Brisach, but they do not know, what they are soon to learn, how you capture places which I have fortified." Such was the skill of this engineer, that he found resources in the presence of the very obstacles he himself had raised by his science; so that by the end of thirteen days of continued attacks, he penetrated into Brisach, triumphing over himself. The siege of Brisach was the last at which Vauban commanded. After rendering so many services to France, Vauban in his latter days suffered disgrace and ingratitude from the king; he died in 1707, forgotten by Louis XIV. But the world renders to his memory the homage which belongs to it. More than a century after his death, the ministers of war and marine, accompanied by the chief marshals of France and the grandsons of Vauban, repaired to the church of the *Invalides*, to place the heart of this great citizen before the tomb of Turenne.

Louis XIV. seemed only to wait for the general pacification of Europe to die. He had been preceded to the grave by all the eminent men, his contemporaries, and was in a manner doomed, before descending to the tomb himself, to wear mourning for his century. The letters of Madame de Maintenon, whom Louis had privately married, and to whose influence at the council table French historians love to impute the disasters which befell Louis, show that the latter years of his career, once brilliant and joyous, were tarnished and sad.

The meddling persecutions of his confessor, Le Tellier, and the *lettres de cachet*, multiplied to prevent the progress of Jansenism, added to the calamitous events of a reign saddened by reverses and defeats. The pressure of absolute power, modified as it had been by a taste for the fine arts, ennobled by triumphs, or excited by religious intolerance, had not been severely felt in the bright days of the seventeenth century by the Molières, the Racines, the Fleurys, and the Bossuets, but became less bearable at a subsequent date, while the talent which marked this period became more rare and less vigorous than formerly. The nobility still bowed submissively before Louis with an air of loyal attachment ; but already their eyes turned to the quarter where the regal power would descend. The people regarded a change of sovereigns with indifference, and Louis, like every dying despot, felt himself a pitiable object. While he signalized his intolerant zeal for religion, he made all moral considerations, all the laws of the kingdom, subservient to his personal will, whenever the interests of his offspring were concerned. He had married several of his natural children to the descendants of his house ; he had declared legitimate and given precedence of the first nobles to his children by Madame de Montespan, the offspring of a double adultery, the Duke du Maine and the Count de Toulouse ; and in 1714 he went still further, and declared them and their descendants heirs to the crown in default of legitimate princes. His great-grandson, who was to succeed him, was only five years of age, and the regency was about to fall into the hands of his nephew, Philip of Orleans. To limit the power of the regent, Madame de Maintenon extracted from the king a will which effected her purpose by establishing a council of which the Duke du Maine and the Count de Toulouse were named members.



O hopes were now entertained of the king's recovery ; a gangrene in his leg announced total decay. Having done all that a despot could to extend his influence beyond the period of life, he prepared to meet the king of terrors by an edifying display of firmness and piety. His death-bed, says a modern commentator, was "as fine a piece of acting as any seen in his life ; if any thing could have gone deeper than the external surface of form and etiquette, assuredly it would have been the last agony. But Louis died as he had

lived, with all the grace and decorum he loved in his brightest moments. His several addresses to his different friends and attendants, and lastly his heir, were distinguished by that neatness and propriety for which he was famous." He became extremely ill on the 25th of August, 1715, having been removed to Marly ; and it was now obvious to every one that his time was very short. The courtiers thronged in crowds to the palace of the Duke of Orleans. On a slight improvement in the king's health, they, expecting him to recover, turned to him ; but the favourable symptoms proving of very short duration, he found himself again deserted. Even Madame de Maintenon withdrew to St. Cyr,

unable, it was said, to endure the spectacle of his suffering. The Earl of Stair, then in Paris as the ambassador from England, laid a wager, "according to the manner of his country," that the king would not live through the month of September; and he won his bet.

A day or two before he breathed his last, Louis caused the child who was to wear his crown to be brought to his bedside; and, like some of his predecessors, gave advice in death which he had never valued in the active part of his life. "I," said he, "have been too much enamoured of war. Do not imitate me in that any more than in causing an unnecessary expenditure of treasure to raise gorgeous palaces. In all things take good counsel. Be it your study to render your people as happy as possible; and labour to effect that improvement in their condition which I unfortunately have not been able to accomplish." The child then withdrew, and the king thenceforward wholly occupied himself with devotional exercises. He died on the 7th of September, 1715, being seventy-seven years of age. Madame de Maintenon had been shut up at St. Cyr during the preceding three days. She did not again leave that retreat. The recent disasters of France had caused fifty years of victory to be forgotten; and no recollections were cherished but those of the good times of Anne of Austria and of Mazarin; no hopes were entertained but those inspired by the new regency.*

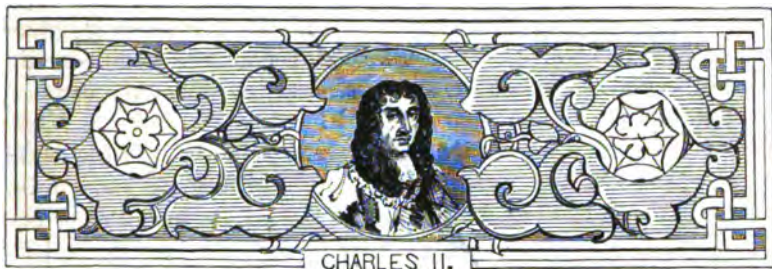
The following brief but able summary of the reign of Louis XIV. is taken from the history of De Bonnechose, and we cannot better close this chapter than by quoting it entire. "Far more ambitious of inspiring fear and compelling admiration, than sensible to the affection of his subjects and anxious for their happiness, Louis XIV. had, in most of his enterprises, his own personal greatness chiefly in view; and a small portion only of the edifice which he had reared survived himself. During the latter half of his reign, he saw France descend from the elevation to which he had raised her in the first; and most of his acts prepared, for the future, results directly the reverse of those which his persevering efforts had laboured to produce. Thus, whilst intending to strengthen the Catholic religion in the state, he overthrew it by means of the violence which he committed in its name, and the favours which he too frequently lavished on fanaticism and hypocrisy. It was his design, by incorporating the provincial nobles and gentlemen in the newly disciplined regiments and in select companies, as well as by the institution of the order of Saint Louis, to make of the nobility of the kingdom the firmest rampart of the monarchy; but the brilliant servitude which he imposed on the *grand seigneurs*, and the ridiculous sale of offices, each of which conferred the privilege of nobility, brought the order into contempt. A declared foe to the authority of parliaments, he kept them silent during the whole period of his reign, and yet he himself, by the act of confiding his will to that of Paris, opened the door by which they once more entered into the political arena. He fancied that, by transferring the Spanish etiquette to his court, he was fortifying the royal autho-

* Pictorial France.

city, and aggrandizing it in the eyes of the multitude; whereas he, on the contrary, only weakened it, by completing its isolation. Finally, full of contempt for the commons of the realm, he was yet a powerful contributor to the political emancipation and high destinies of that order, by the encouragement which he afforded to letters and to trade. By such means he shifted, in a great degree, the sources of the public wealth and strength, by promoting the creation of personal property, and strengthening the springs of public opinion, in the joint power of which double agencies the *tiers état* rose so rapidly to the level of the privileged orders,—and which have in our day so powerful an influence over the destinies of nations.

Amongst all the labours of Louis XIV., those whose fruits did not disappoint his expectations, and which survived himself the longest and most beneficially for France, date almost wholly from the second and glorious period of his reign,—that in which Colbert lived and governed. They consist of his early conquests, his vigorous central administration, his useful legislation, though tainted in some respects with barbarism, the novel organization of his army, his academical foundations, his fortifications, his canals and his maritime constructions. They are wrong who ascribe to Louis XIV. merit for the direction given to the national mind by his court. The latter no doubt gave some impulse to the progress of civilization by polishing the language and manners; but it was much more distinguished by the elegance of its external forms than the delicacy of its sentiments. Of this the writings of La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, Saint-Simon, and the comic poets of that period, may be taken as proof. Towards the close of this reign, the courtiers were chiefly characterized by their contempt for the conjugal tie,—a thirst for gold, at a time when nearly all distinctions were to be bought,—an indifference as to the sources, however shameful, from whence fortune might be derived,—a passion for gaming, carried often without entailing disgrace to the extent of dishonest manœuvring,—an indulgence for the vices, and even crimes, of certain persons sought after for their high birth or distinguished wit,—and, lastly, hypocrisy in the matter of religion. These deplorable examples, only the more dangerous for the brilliant varnish by which they were set off, exercised a most mischievous influence over the nation, and explained the indignation of the virtuous Fenelon, when he sorrowfully exclaimed: “The manners of our day expose all men to the strong temptation of attaching themselves to the powerful, by every species of profligacy, treachery, and baseness.”

Those times, however, were brightened, likewise, by the lustre of many virtues—particularly in those quarters to which the influence of the court had penetrated least. The provincial nobility, the magistracy, and a portion of the clergy, set an example of purity in manners, contempt for money, and strict integrity, but it was in vain that a multitude of respectable men resisted the torrent: the succeeding reign aggravated the wounds opened under that of Louis XIV.; and the corruption of the court contributed, quite as much as the derangement of the finances, to shake the monarchy to its very foundations.



CHAPTER VIII.

Great Britain, from the Death of Cromwell to the Revolution of 1688.



LIVER CROMWELL was succeeded in his dignity as Protector by his son Richard, a quiet, easy tempered man, who would have immediately declined a contest for the supremacy. But the fleet and the army acknowledged his title, the council recognised his authority, Ireland was secured to him by the popularity of his brother Henry, who governed there, and Scotland by the presence of General Monk. He received congratulatory addresses from the counties, and the most considerable corporations, and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments. He was thus tempted to accept of a sovereignty which seemed tendered to him by universal consent. These circumstances alone disprove the statements of many contemporary and later writers, that the powers and the policy of Oliver Cromwell were exhausted with his life; that the government of the commonwealth must have speedily fallen to pieces even under the direction of his potent hand. Richard, however, was thoughtless and inexperienced, and he had soon to contend against a powerful republican majority in parliament, which had taken the opportunity to reassemble. Still greater dangers soon menaced him from the discontent of the army, which was equally dissatisfied with the weakness of the new protector and the obstinacy of the parliament. Richard derided the fanatical pretensions of his father's officers, and when a remonstrance against granting commissions to "the ungodly" was brought to him, he replied, "Here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither preach nor pray, and yet I will trust him before ye all." These imprudent and irreligious words, says pious Ludlow, so clearly discovering the frame and temper of the Lord-Protector's mind, were published in the army and the city of London, to his great prejudice.

The officers urged Richard to dissolve the refractory Commons, and, when

he had taken this imprudent step, seized the reins of government into their own hands. Having deliberated upon several projects, they resolved to revive the Rump, in hopes that, having already felt their own weakness, the members of that body would henceforth act in accordance with the will of the military leaders. Richard, desirous of peace, and weary of constant contentions, resigned the protectorate, and the chief power of the state passed to the cabal of officers, at whose head were Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough. His more able brother Henry also quietly resigned the government of Ireland. After the restoration of Charles II., Richard thought proper to travel for some years, and had frequently to hear himself condemned as a blockhead for not having reaped greater benefit from his father's powers. But being of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, he wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When some of his partisans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers by the death of Lambert, he rejected the proposal with horror. "I will never," said he, "purchase power or dominion by such sanguinary measures." He returned after his travels to England, where he lived in contentment and tranquillity to an extreme old age, and died toward the latter part of Queen Anne's reign. As he had done hurt to no man, so no man attempted to hurt him; a striking instance of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence.*



SOLDIER OF THE TRAINED
BANDS OF THE 17TH CENTURY.

After the abdication of Richard, the contests between the army and parliament continued; but the nation generally took no interest in them. It was a time of anarchy. Principle had departed from the leaders of the factions, and caprice and interest occupied its place. In this state of affairs, George Monk, who, under the Cromwell ascendancy, had governed Scotland with credit, resolved to act a decided part. He proclaimed himself the champion of the parliament, but kept his real views wholly confined to his own breast. The soldiers had violently dissolved the Rump, but Fleetwood now found it necessary to allow it to reassemble. The house, though so often mutilated, still retained its former spirit; it promptly made use of its recovered power to remove the officers whom it did not approve. Desborough with some others fled to Lambert. Fleetwood was overwhelmed with consternation.† Monk commenced his march to London on the 1st of January, 1660; in February he introduced the old members into the Rump, and thereby procured a voluntary dissolution of that body; in March the Long Parliament concluded its sitting; in April a new House of Commons assembled; and in May,

* Bishop Burnet.

† Taylor.



RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

Charles returned in triumph to the throne and the kingdom, from which he had so long been an exile. He was restored without conditions, because it would have been impossible to frame terms, the discussion of which would not have excited the recollection of former grievances and animosities. He entered London on the 29th of May, the day on which he completed his thirtieth year. He was accompanied by the members of parliament, the clergy, the civic authorities, and about twenty thousand persons on foot or horseback.

Few monarchs ever had such an opportunity of rendering themselves popular and their subjects happy as was now afforded to Charles II. ; the pages of history, however, contain the name of no one who failed more completely. "There have come over with him vices of every sort, and the basest and most shameful lust without love, servitude without loyalty, foulness of speech, dishonesty of dealing, grinning contempt of all things good and generous. The throne is surrounded by men whom the former Charles would have spurned from his footstool. The altar is served by slaves whose knees are supple to every being but God. Rhymers whose books the hangman should burn, panders, actors, and buffoons, these drink a health and throw a main with the king ; these have stars in their breasts and gold sticks in their hands ; these shut out from his presence the best and bravest of those who bled for his house. Even so doth God visit those who know not how to value freedom."*

Though it was supposed that a general amnesty would be granted at the restoration, the movements of the king showed that his former opponents had

* Macaulay's "Cowley and Milton."

little to hope from his mercy. He organized a court, in which some of the most prominent seats were occupied by those who as parliamentary leaders had been most active in bringing things to a crisis, but who had had no immediate part in the king's death. There twenty-nine of the avowed friends of republicanism were brought to trial; their defences were not allowed to be spoken, their judges acted as witnesses against them; the executioner, with all the horrid implements of his trade, was, by a refinement of cruelty, brought into court and seated beside the prisoners, and, though they were satisfied in their own consciences that they had done no sin, though they had almost all acted in conformity to the orders of parliament, though the witnesses against them were few in number, and in many cases obviously suborned, they were nevertheless almost all condemned to death. The first that suffered was the good old republican general, Harrison;—Harrison, whose honest soldier-like appearance and gallant bearing had disarmed the suspicion and even excited the involuntary admiration of Charles the First, when he was a captive.

On the 13th of October, he was drawn on a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross, within sight of Whitehall. As he was borne along his countenance was placid and even cheerful. A heartless wretch called out from the crowd, "Where is your good old cause now?" Harrison with a smile put his hand upon his breast, saying, "Here it is. I am going to seal it with my blood." And several times on the way he said aloud, "I go to suffer upon account of the most glorious cause that ever was in the world." He ascended with a firm step the tall scaffold under the gibbet, and there addressed the crowd of his revilers and accusers. He told them, among other things, that though wrongfully accused of murder, he had ever kept a good conscience both towards God and towards man; that he had no guilt upon his conscience, but comfort and consolation, and the glorious hope of peace in heaven. Then commenced the work of death, the detail of which we would gladly avoid, but that the lapse of time and the claims of history demand that the infamous character of Charles II., "the merry monarch," should be seen in its true light. The boast of the king and his courtiers, that by the restoration the highest civilization was introduced into the island, has long been accounted as true, whereas in fact, humanity and decency, which the mild and sober sway of Cromwell had fostered, now retrograded with appalling strides. The revolting indecencies, the atrocious cruelties which had been the award of treason in the dark ages, and from which Cromwell and the commonwealth men had turned with horror and disgust, were again revived. Harrison was cut from the gallows alive, and saw his own bowels thrown into the fire; then he was quartered, and his heart, still palpitating, was torn out and shown to the people. Charles II., whose vices have been made to appear like virtues, whose panegyrists have again and again painted him as an easy, good-natured, gentle prince, whose only fault was a little dissipation, witnessed at a short distance this detestable scene.

On the 15th of October, John Carew suffered death in like manner, declaring with his last breath that the cause of liberty would not be lost. On

the day after, Coke and Peters were drawn to the same place. The royal butcher would have stricken terror to the heart of the learned Coke, and therefore caused the ghastly head of Harrison, with the face uncovered and turned towards him, to be carried in the same hurdle, but the gallant patriot was animated with fresh courage by the fearful and horrid sight. The good old preacher, Peters, was brought within the railing around the scaffold, and obliged to witness the quartering of Coke. When that deed was done, the executioner came to him, rubbing his bloody hands, and asked him how he liked that work. He answered that he was not at all terrified, and met the same fate with a quiet smile upon his countenance. These details might be greatly multiplied, but we have cited enough to show the nature of the king's generosity. We pass by the indignities offered to the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, who were exhumed, gibbeted, and thrown into a deep pit at Tyburn, also to the bodies of Cromwell's mother and daughter, who had both been models of female domestic virtue. The bold and determined demeanour of those who suffered, and their speeches to the assembled crowds, produced their natural effect upon the people. "Though the regicides," says Burnet,* "were at that time odious beyond all expression, and the trials and executions of the first that suffered were run to by vast crowds, and all people seemed pleased with the sight, yet the odiousness of the crime came at last to be so much flattened by the frequent executions, and by most of those who suffered dying with so much firmness and show of piety, justifying what they had done, not without a seeming joy for their suffering on that account, that the king was advised not to proceed farther, or at least not to have the scene so near the court as Charing Cross."

Blood flowed in Scotland also. The Scottish parliament emulated the English in submissiveness. In the last, no opposition was manifested except in religious matters. The pecuniary grants, however, did not equal the royal wishes. A second parliament was still more complaisant; it assented to nearly all the demands of the king; but it too was parsimonious. This fact has been urged as an excuse for the king's baseness in selling Dunkirk, which the arms of Cromwell had so gloriously secured for England, to Louis XIV. for 40,000 pounds, and in accepting a secret pension from that politic prince. The government of Charles thus received an indelible stain, while by surrendering the guidance of internal affairs to the five tyrants, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, called the CABAL, from the initials of their names, he incurred the execrations of all patriots. His toleration in religion gained him no credit, for his hypocrisy was apparent in that he sought, while he acknowledged the episcopacy, to protect his secret favourites, the Catholics. The Duke of York succeeded Lauderdale in the government of Scotland, where, by executions without number and by all manner of murders, he set laws at defiance and outraged humanity. The parliament proceeded against the Catholics, with the direct view of preventing the accession of the Duke of York

* *Memoirs of his Own Time.*

to the throne after the death of Charles. They wished the succession to fall to the natural son of the king, the Duke of Monmouth. The persecution of Presbyterians in the north by the Duke of York was then retaliated by persecution of Catholics in England under the sanction of parliament. Finding this assembly not sufficiently well disposed towards himself, Charles dissolved it in 1678; but the new parliament was no less unfriendly.

A worthless impostor, named Titus Oates, pretended to have discovered a plot of the Catholics for assassinating the king, burning London, massacring the Protestants, and placing the Duke of York on the throne. His oath was confirmed by that of another villain named Bedloe, and on their perjured testimony, afterwards fully exposed, a number of priests suffered death. A new test was imposed, which excluded all Catholics from both houses of parliament; the treasurer Danby was impeached for advising the last peace with France, though it was proved that he had acted by the king's orders; a formal bill of exclusion against the Duke of York was introduced and violently defended. At the same time the celebrated *habeas corpus* act was issued, which, by preventing arbitrary arrests, gained for the people a most precious security for their civil liberty. But the royalists at last united closely for common defence against the increasing danger, the nation was divided into two irreconcilable parties, and the epithets whig and tory now first became known; the former applied to the opposers of the crown, the latter to its partisans. The whigs, predominant in the next parliament, raged with fury against the Catholics, and insisted on the king's assent to the bill for the exclusion of his brother. He had recourse to a dissolution, but found their successors equally violent. His attempts to conciliate their favour proving fruitless, he dissolved this assembly also and never convoked another. Violence and extortion took the place of constitutional government; the friends of civil liberty had no legal means of resistance, and dread of the horrors of a civil war only kept them from a revolution. Some there were, however, upon whom this feeling had no effect, and Russel, Algernon Sidney, Howard, Shaftesbury and others concluded a secret alliance for the re-establishment of national liberty. Charles's son, the Duke of Monmouth, also bore a conspicuous part in it, but his object is generally believed to have been his own elevation.

While their plans were ripening, a subaltern plot was laid by some inferior conspirators for assassinating the king on his return from Newmarket, at a farm called the Rye House, which gave a name to the conspiracy. Although the plan was not connected with that of Russel and Sidney, the detection of one led to that of the other, and those patriots with others were in consequence arrested. After some of the Rye House conspirators had been executed, advantage was taken of the national feeling to bring the others to execution. Russel was brought to trial in July, 1683, and pains being taken to pack a jury of partisans, he was, after very little deliberation, brought in guilty of high-treason. "It was proved," says Hume, "that an insurrection had been deliberated on by the prisoner; the surprisal of the guards deliberated but not fully resolved upon; and that an assassination of the king had not once been

mentioned or imagined by him. The law was stretched to his condemnation, and his blood was too eagerly desired by the tyrant Charles and the bigoted Duke of York to allow of the remission of the sentence of death. He was beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, July 21, 1683, in the forty-second year of his age. To his character for sincerity, probity, and private worth, his most bitter enemies have borne ample testimony. His wife obtained the respect and admiration of the world by the affectionate zeal with which she assisted her husband, and the magnanimity with which she bore her loss. She accompanied him into court upon his trial; and when he was refused counsel, and allowed only an amanuensis, she stood forth in that character, and excited the sympathy and respect of all who beheld her.

Sidney was tried for his supposed share in the conspiracy for assassinating the king. After the sacrifice of Russel, he was tried as the next most obnoxious person, for high-treason, before the hardened Chief Justice Jeffries. Lord Howard, the disgrace of his country, was the only witness against him, and as the law for high-treason required two witnesses, recourse was had by the attorney-general to an expedient. In defiance of law and common sense, the additional testimony was held to be supplied by extracts from some discourses on government, found in manuscript in his closet, though not proved to be in his handwriting, which maintained the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, and the preference of a free to an arbitrary government. In spite of a spirited defence he was declared guilty, and executed December 7, 1678. The people witnessed the fate of their friends with deep affliction, and the Englishman ever links their names with epithets of love and admiration. As Sidney was dragged in a sledge up Tower Hill to the place of execution, one of the lookers-on called out to him, "You never sat on a seat so glorious." Just before his death he delivered the sheriff a paper, alleging the injustice of his condemnation, and concluding with a prayer for the "good old cause." He suffered with all the firmness and constancy belonging to his character, and he has ever been held in high honour by those who maintain the fundamental principles of free government. The royal authority, however, was strengthened by the failure of their attempt. The Duke of York was reinstated in the office of high admiral, from which he had been expelled by the parliamentary vote against Catholics. He was tacitly acknowledged as the successor to the crown, and ascended the throne without opposition at the death of Charles.

In his foreign relations, Charles always ranged himself under the banners of his subtle contemporary, Louis XIV. We have seen how he transferred Dunkirk to the French monarch, on the most disgraceful considerations; we have yet to record the manner in which he brought more stains upon the flag of his kingdom than it had witnessed for centuries.

In 1663, he consented to a war against Holland, the great commercial rival of England, in violation of all ties of gratitude. Hostilities were commenced with some show of success on the part of England, but De Ruyter asserted the supremacy of the Dutch flag by a brilliant campaign on the coast of Africa. In 1666, a great naval action was fought between the combatants,

in which, at the end of three bloody days, Monk was obliged to retreat, and would have been destroyed had not a reinforcement under Prince Rupert come to his aid. On the fourth day the fighting was continued, but a fog separated the combatants, and when it cleared away the Dutch were seen retreating. Their enemies were unable to follow them. "The court," says Burnet, "gave out that it was a victory, and public thanksgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world: though we had in one respect reason to thank God that we had not lost our whole fleet." In July, however, De Ruyter was defeated by Monk and Rupert, and Sir Thomas Holmes committed great depredations on the coast of Holland.

The profligate prince had only waged war for plunder and prize-money, and as he was disappointed in these, and as his ally and master, Louis XIV., had other projects in view, they resolved to conclude peace. Negotiations were opened at Breda between the three powers, but, as hostilities were not suspended, De Witt resolved to revenge the wanton expedition of Holmes. To save the money which parliament had voted, and apply it to his pleasures, Charles had neglected to pay the seamen and fit out the fleet. The streets were full of sailors, in a starving condition, and only a few second and third rate ships were in commission. In the beginning of June, 1667, De Ruyter dashed into the Downs with a fleet of eighty sail and many fireships, blocked up the mouths of the Medway and the Thames, destroyed the fortifications of Sheerness, cut away the paltry defences of booms and chains drawn across the rivers, and got to Chatham on the one side and nearly to Gravesend on the other. The Royal Charles, one of the finest English vessels, was taken; the Royal James, the Oak, and the London, all equal to the first, were burned. Upnor Castle and all the ships were destitute of powder and shot. There were many English sailors on board the Dutch ships, who shouted to their old companions, who lined the shores in grief and hunger, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars." If De Ruyter had made for London at once he might have burned all the shipping in the river, but Prince Rupert improved the time while he was in the Medway to throw up batteries at Woolwich, and sink vessels in the channel of the river. The Dutch then sailed from the Downs, scoured the coast, and returned in triumph to the Texel. In August the treaty of Breda was concluded, and the first Dutch war of his reign was ended.

Charles commenced the second war with Holland in a manner worthy of a robber and a pirate. Always the satellite of Louis XIV., he now obeyed the imperious commands of that king, in direct violation of the most precious interests of his nation. Keeping on the mask till the last moment, he offered himself as a mediator, and for some time imposed on both the Spaniards and the Dutch. When his master Louis was ready, he rushed madly into the war. Parliament had been prorogued, and, without their advice or consent, he suddenly shut up the Exchequer, an act which amounted to an avowed national bankruptcy, and which had the immediate effect of spreading ruin far and wide, and of entirely uprooting credit. Then, without declaring war, and while the



THE DUTCH FLEET DESTROYING THE TOWNS ON THE THAMES.

Dutch were relying upon him as a mediator and friend, he detached Sir Robert Holmes to capture the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet of Dutch merchantmen, whose freight was supposed to be worth a million and a half sterling. Holmes, "the cursed beginner of two Dutch wars," fell in with this rich fleet and attacked it, but the Dutch made a gallant defence, beat him off after two days' hard fighting, with nothing for his trouble but the disgrace of piracy. (A. D. 1672.) The disappointed king then declared war, and Louis announced his intention of running down the Dutch at sea, and drowning the shopkeepers in their own ditches. But he found an equal adversary in the young William of Orange, who, with all the invincible coolness, courage, and decision of his ancestors, cut through the dykes, flooded the country, and convinced even Turenne that the conquest of Holland was no easy matter. On the 28th of May, De Ruyter attacked the combined English and French fleets at Solebay. The battle, like all in which the Dutch engaged, was terrible. Lord Sandwich, one of the British chiefs, was blown up and perished with his whole crew, and his associate, the Duke of York, narrowly escaped the same fate. The French, whose navy was in its infancy, were very careful of their ships and men; they appeared, indeed, to have a standing order to risk as little as possible during the war, but to promote all occasions for the Dutch and English navies to destroy each other. The fleets fought desperately from morning till night; then separated, miserably shattered, leaving the victory doubtful. During the war, however, the great De Ruyter maintained the ascendancy over the superior combined forces of English and French.

After having lived a confirmed sensualist and voluptuary, Charles on his

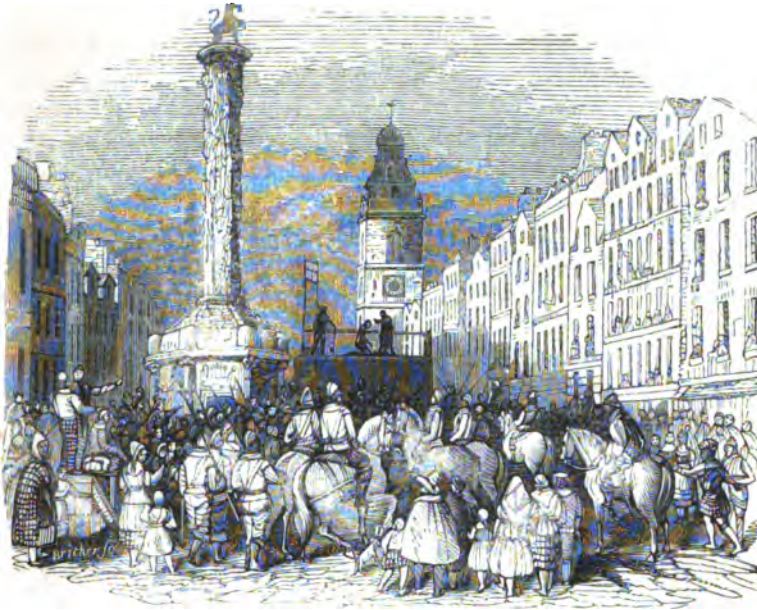
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death-bed received the sacrament, according to the rites of the Roman church, thus proving himself to have been as hypocritical as profligate. Owing to his example, his reign was the era of the most dissolute manners that ever prevailed in England. The stage was an open school of licentiousness, and immorality infused itself everywhere into polite literature. Though Charles entirely neglected his queen, he left very many illegitimate children, the descendants of some of whom can even now readily be pointed out among the leading nobility of the kingdom. The king was a man of wit, and a good judge of certain kinds of writing, but too deficient in sensibility to feel either the sublime or the beautiful in composition; and his soul was too contracted to allow him to exercise generosity towards even those authors whom he applauded. He possessed an easy good-nature, but united with it a total indifference to any thing but his own pleasure; and no man could be more destitute of honour or generosity. His observation on the cruelties which his minister Lauderdale had committed in Scotland, gives the best idea of his view of the relation of king and subject. "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has acted in any thing contrary to *my* interest." Yet with all his selfishness and demerits as a king, the personal character of Charles, who, in the words of Sir William Temple, "had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole composition," always made him popular with the multitude. The most affable man alive, he treated his subjects like gentlemen, without caring aught for their welfare. His professions were plausible, and his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won the hearts while he lost the good opinion of his subjects, and often swayed their judgment of his wickedness by their fondness for his person. The violence of parliament tended to increase the number of his friends among the people, and the zeal against Catholicism caused most of his own tyrannous measures to be ascribed to the influence of his brother, the Duke of York.

That brother now ascended the throne, with the title of James II. He had been held accountable for his brother's vices, and though his accession to the supreme power was not opposed, much discontent was felt throughout the nation. As might have been expected, his reign was short and inglorious. He was so weak as to make the desperate attempt to force Catholicism upon the nation, when the Catholics were but a hundredth part of the inhabitants. He discarded the nobility from the councils, and substituted Romish priests; and expressed a firm determination to exercise an unlimited despotism. His illegitimate nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, having excited a new rebellion, was defeated, captured, and executed; the valiant Argyle, who had supported his attempt in Scotland, shared the same fate, and the king, striving to strengthen his throne by terror, practised by his instruments, Chief Justice Jeffries and Colonel Kirke, the most bloody persecution against the unfortunate adherents of Monmouth or those who were declared such.

James had two children, both daughters; Mary, married to Prince William of Orange, and Anne, the wife of Prince George of Denmark. The nation had borne with the tyranny of James, looking toward his death as a time of deli-



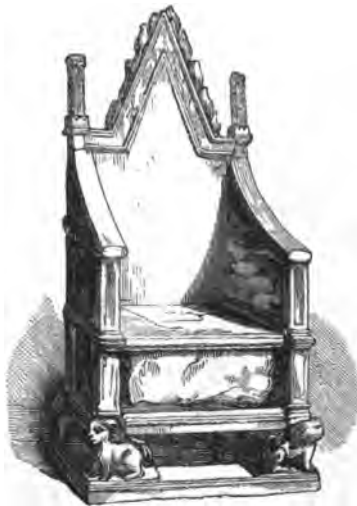
EXECUTION OF ARGYLE AT THE MARKET CROSS, EDINBURGH.

verance. Their eyes were fixed upon the great general, statesman, and ruler, William of Orange, who had also looked upon his right to the crown of England as certain. But the birth of another child to James disconcerted the hopes and views of both these parties. The infant prince must succeed to the throne to the exclusion of William, and the nation felt that he was an heir to the principles as well as to the power of James. The people therefore boldly undertook their own salvation. William had showed himself a friend of the popular cause by intercession and negotiation, and he now received invitations to become a mediator and a saviour from all parties, Whigs and Tories, Episcopalians and Presbyterians. James, however, feared nothing. He even refused the offers of assistance from Louis XIV. His throne, established on the pillars of absolute power, seemed in no danger of being shaken. But it fell.

On the 5th of November, 1688, William of Orange landed with a moderate force on the coast of England; his debarkation having been preceded by a manifesto, enumerating the arbitrary acts of the king against the rights of the nation. On account of these, he had come to England to convoke a legitimate, free parliament, which would consult the welfare of the state. The standard of William was immediately joined by the principal nobility and officers; James, abandoned by all, fled to France. The throne was declared vacant, and it was resolved in a convention parliament to confer the crown upon the Prince and Princess of Orange, the former to have the sole

administration of government. At the same time the "declaration of the rights of the English nation" was united to this hereditary transfer. Its most important articles are as follows: The king cannot suspend the laws or their execution; he cannot levy money without consent of parliament; the subjects have right to petition the crown; a standing army cannot be kept up in time of peace but by consent of parliament; elections and parliamentary debate must be free, and parliaments must be frequently assembled. Thus the liberties of the subject, which had cost two revolutions and an immense amount of blood and treasure, were at length finally acknowledged and definitely fixed.

The constitutional rights of the people being thus definitively settled, the principles for which Hampden, Pym, and Vane had contended were substantially recognised in what the English call the Glorious Revolution of 1688: and the ancient coronation chair, containing the stone on which the kings of Scotland were crowned at Scone, and which had been brought to London by Edward I. and used in subsequent crownings, was brought forth for the inauguration of a monarch who owned neither England nor Scotland for his native country.





CHAPTER IX.

Great Britain, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Death of Queen Anne.



DIFFICULTIES in Ireland formed the first object of attention presented to the new king of England. The Scotch were easily induced to yield obedience to the two sovereigns, William and Mary; but a formidable resistance was offered to their sway in Ireland. There the people were warmly attached to the late sovereign on account of his religion, and they regarded him as a martyr to his faith, and looked upon his cause as their own. In 1689, James proceeded from France to Ireland, and was soon joined by a large but ill-disciplined army. He immediately ratified an act of the Irish parliament for annulling that settlement of the Protestants upon the lands of Catholics, which had taken place in Cromwell's time, and another for attainting two thousand persons of the Protestant faith. The Protestants, finding themselves thus dispossessed of their property, fled to

the fortified towns, and resolved to defend themselves until succours should arrive from King William.

That prince led a large army to Ireland, and on the 1st of July, 1689, gained, over his father-in-law, the victory of the Boyne. James foolishly suffered himself to be dispirited by this defeat, and sailed for France, while his Irish adherents continued in arms, and fought more vigorously after the battle of the Boyne than before it. The Duke of Berwick and the Earl of Tyrconnel kept the field with a large body of cavalry, and the infantry were effectually protected in the town of Limerick. William invested this town, and lost two thousand men in an assault upon it; this so disheartened him that he went back to England, leaving his officers to prosecute the war. The Irish army being defeated at Aghrim, in consequence of the loss of their leader, St. Ruth, they took refuge in Limerick, where a treaty was concluded, and the war ended.

All military opposition was thus overcome, but William had to encounter no little resistance in parliament from the Tories, now called Jacobites. Though they had been glad to save the Church of England by calling in William, they submitted with a bad grace to making him king; and the danger was no sooner passed than they revived their former principles of hereditary right, thus keeping alive James's hopes of a restoration, and imbittering the peace of William's mind. But the king found a recompense in the additional force which his elevated position enabled him to bring against his former enemy, Louis of France. He entered heartily into the combination of the European powers for checking that warlike prince, and, tired of continual struggles, he admitted every restraint which the parliament placed upon his authority, upon condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. He conducted military operations nearly every summer in person. War and the balance of power were all that engaged his attention, and the sums of money granted to him for the prosecution of his passion for deeds of

arms are incredible. The peace of Ryswick, 1697, permitted him to spend the remainder of his reign in quiet. His wife Mary had died in 1694, leaving him sole ruler, and in 1700, in consideration that he and his sister-in-law Anne had no children, the act of succession was passed, by which the crown, failing in these two individuals, was secured to the next Protestant heir, Sophia, duchess of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. William had determined to take part against Louis in the war of the Spanish suc-



COSTUME OF QUEEN MARY.

cession, when a fall from his horse fractured his collar-bone, and he died in consequence, March 2, 1702. The person of William III. was thin and feeble; his demeanour cold, silent, and repulsive. He was a man of sober domestic habits, and sincerely attached to toleration in religion. His reign is remarkable for the first legal support of a standing army; for the commencement of the national debt; and for the establishment of the Bank of England, by William Peterson, a scheming Scotsman. (A. D. 1695.) John Locke, Bishop Tillotson, and John Dryden, three of the greatest men of any age or any country, adorned the period of his reign.



WILLIAM III.

Anne, second daughter of James II., and sister-in-law to the late king, succeeded to the throne. She was now thirty-eight years of age, and chiefly remarkable for her zealous attachment to the Church of England. During the war of the Spanish succession, she maintained the place which William had assumed in the grand alliance, and though she thereby enabled her favourite, the Duke of Marlborough, to elevate the glory of

England and accumulate great personal wealth, the unnecessary interference in continental politics cost the people immense sums of money, and laid the foundations of the enormous national debt from which the nation has not yet recovered.

Since the Revolution the Whigs had governed the state by their majority in parliament and their influence in the ministry. Their power was now rapidly declining, but before its fall they succeeded in effecting an object of the greatest importance to both England and Scotland. This was an incorporating union of the two countries, a measure rendered necessary by the manifest disposition of the Scots to dissent from the Act of Succession. The Whig ministry exerted themselves so effectually in the Scottish parliament as to obtain an act, enabling the queen to nominate commissioners for the arrangement of a union. The men appointed, thirty on each side, were all friendly to the court and to the revolution settlement; and the treaty was accordingly framed without difficulty. In October, 1706, this document was submitted to the Scottish parliament. It provided that the two nations were to be indissolubly united under one government and legislature, each, however, retaining its own civil and criminal law; the crown to be in the house of Hanover; the Scottish Presbyterian church to be guarantied; forty-five members to be sent by the Scottish counties and burghs to the House of Commons, and sixteen elective peers to be sent by the nobles to the Upper House; the taxes to be equalized, but, in consideration of the elevation of the Scottish imposts to the level of the English, for the latter people already owed sixteen millions, an equivalent was

to be given to Scotland, amounting to nearly four hundred thousand pounds, which was to aid in renewing the coin and other objects. These terms were regarded in Scotland as inadequate, and the very idea of the loss of an independent legislature and a place among governments raised their utmost indignation. And though by bribery the union was carried through parliament, and the two countries formed one state, yet it was long unpopular, and the two rebellions of 1715 and 1745 were in a great degree caused by the anxiety of the people for the repeal of this odious measure.

The popularity of the union in England, however, could not avert the approaching dissolution of the Whig ministry. The Tories went on steadily increasing in power. They were strongly attached to the Church of England, the privileges and supremacy of which they wished to maintain against the Whigs, who, more liberal in their feelings, were willing to allow the toleration called for by the dissenters. The terms High Church and Low Church were now applied respectively to the views of the Tories and the Whigs; the Tories raised the cry that the Church was in danger, and the Whigs unwisely attempted to silence the clamor by force. A divine, named Henry Sacheverell, had preached a violent sermon, attacking the dissenters, and upholding the long exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. It was a poor, contemptible production, and, though printed and eagerly read, it would soon have been forgotten but for the ministry themselves. Lord Godolphin persuaded his friends to make it the subject of a parliamentary impeachment, and though the man was found guilty, common sense revolted at the iniquity of the proceeding, and the popular tumult was so great that a merely nominal punishment was inflicted. This was hailed by the Tories as a triumph, and the Whigs became more and more unpopular as marks of public reverence and honour flowed in upon their intended victim. At the same time, through the intrigues of Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the haughty Duchess of Marlborough in the affections of Queen Anne, they lost their remaining favour with that sovereign, who resolved to get rid of them at the first opportunity. In August, 1710, her Tory favourites, Harley and St. John, came into power with a decided Tory majority in parliament; an event which was speedily followed by the termination at Utrecht of the war of the Spanish succession. It is believed that Queen Anne was favourable to the restoration of the Stuart family to the English throne, and Harley and St. John are known to have been concerned in intrigues for that purpose; but Queen Anne died suddenly, August 1, 1714, before any plan could be arranged for the promotion of that object, and George I., the son of the now deceased Sophia Electress of Hanover, ascended the throne under the Act of Succession.



CHAPTER X.

Eastern Europe and the North.



URING the period in which Louis XIV. engaged Germany in hostilities, the patriotic Elector of Brandenburg had been actively employed in taking advantage of the weakness and exhaustion of the empire to lay securely a foundation upon which his house might rise to future greatness. In 1674, Louis concluded an alliance with the Swedes, whom he induced to invade the territories of that electorate, in order to draw Frederic William from the service of the Emperor to the protection of his own people. Though they made a serious impression on his country, the elector would not abandon the imperial standard on the Rhine, but contributed his assistance as long as his presence there was necessary. In 1675, he marched hastily to the relief of his suffering country, appeared suddenly in front of the triumphant Swedes, and, though his infantry had not been able to keep up with him, determined to attack the enemy at once. His generals advised him to await the arrival of his foot soldiers, but he thought that every moment of delay was a moment lost, began the action at once, and gained a most brilliant victory. The Swedes fled to Pomerania, followed by the elector, who conquered part of that province.

Frederic William may be regarded as the founder of the Prussian monarchy; inasmuch as he laid a secure basis upon which his successors built. He acquired the Westphalian territories from the Clive inheritance, made the duchy of Prussia independent, and at the treaty of Welau in 1675, caused it to be declared free of all enfeoffment to Poland. He enlarged its capital, Berlin, by the Werder and Neustadt; he promoted the progress of the universities in Frankfort and Königsburg, and formed a plan for a new one at Halle; he encouraged all kinds of art and industrial invention throughout his lands, and



FREDERIC WILLIAM.

hospitably received and employed many refugee artisans from France. It was his aim to render his people inferior to none of all the other nations, to raise them in the estimation of the world, and while many princes of the empire secured their private interests by alliances with the enemies of Germany, he made it the aim of his life to oppose the aggressions of the French and protect the liberties of the great German nation.

The acquisitions of territory made by Louis XIV. under the awards of the chambers of reunion, excited the utmost indignation of the German Emperor, who formed an alliance with several princes for his own protection, when a sudden revolt in Hungary, and an invasion of the Turks, which had been produced by Louis for the advancement of his own purposes, made him tremble for the safety of his empire.

Ever since the year 1670 Hungary had been continually agitated by dissension. The Hungarians were extremely annoyed at beholding their towns garrisoned by German troops, and, in addition to this, the Protestants complained loudly of the persecutions which they endured at the instigation of the Jesuits. Count Emmeric of Toeckly having presented himself as a leader, the discontented population rose in arms, and formed an alliance with the Turks. The warlike and ambitious grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, prepared at once for the invasion of Hungary at the head of an army far exceeding in strength any since the conquest of Constantinople. Fortunately for the Emperor Leopold, he found a brave and efficient ally in John Sobieski, king of Poland; the German princes too came to his aid, and the command of his forces was given to the brave and magnanimous Prince Charles of Lorraine, the instructor of Prince Eugene of Savoy, the famous fellow-soldier of Marlborough.

The Turks, however, opened the campaign at an uncommonly early period, crossing the bridge of Esseck with 200,000 men on the 12th of June, 1683. The imperial army was hastily formed at Presburg; but it numbered only 22,000 foot and 11,000 horse. The Turks marched on direct to Vienna, without stopping to besiege the towns in Hungary. The Emperor fled with his court to Linz, while the inhabitants, animated with the presence of a garrison of 10,000 men, which the Duke of Lorraine threw into the city, armed in its defence. Count Rudiger of Stahrenberg was appointed commandant, and gave evidence of his determination to resist with desperation the advances of the vizier, who arrived before the city on the 14th of June. His army occupied a space of six leagues in the surrounding country. Two days after his arrival trenches were opened, cannon fired upon the city, and the siege commenced. The walls were undermined, and the Turks made every preparation for blowing up the bastions, in order to gain an entrance into the city. The besieged, however, defended themselves heroically. The night witnessed them repairing the damages of the day, and desperately and determinedly they disputed every foot of ground. The Turks, however, were gradually gaining the advantage; every day they gained something; at the Lobel bastion the contest was so fierce that the whole ground was covered with the blood of the combatants. At the end of August, the crescent waved over the moat of the city walls, and on the 4th of September the Turks sprung a mine, which made the city to shake as in an earthquake; the Burg bastion was rent asunder for more than thirty feet, and pieces of its walls were scattered in all directions. At this great success, the Turks rushed to an assault, but on two successive occasions they were driven back. They therefore sprung another mine under the same bastion, September 10, making a breach so extensive that they were enabled to penetrate it with a whole battalion. The garrison was exhausted by constant fighting and fatigue, their number was considerably reduced, and the Duke of Lorraine had been repeatedly summoned to their aid in vain. Yet the brave Viennese had no thoughts of a surrender; they stood under arms, momentarily awaiting an assault, which must have decided the fate of the city, when the Christian army announced by the thunders of its artillery on the Kalen hill that relief was at hand.

The brave Sobieski had arrived at the head of his army, and he was immediately followed by the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, Prince Waldeck with the troops of the circle of Franconia, the Duke of Saxe-Lauenberg, the Margraves of Baden and Baireuth, the Landgraves of Hesse, the princes of Anhalt, and many others, who all brought with them a numerous body of their own troops. With such a select body of leaders, Charles of Lorraine ventured to give battle, though he had but 40,000 men in all. On the morning of the 12th of September he descended the Kalen hill in order of battle. The village of Nussdorf, situated on the banks of the Danube, was first attacked, and taken by the imperialists and Saxons in the left wing after a bloody fight. Meanwhile, towards midday, John Sobieski, who had descended into the plain with the right wing, dashed with his cavalry into the midst of the Turkish horsemen, and with irresistible force penetrated through the very centre of their ranks, spreading confusion and dismay before him. The Turks, however, were enabled by their great superiority of numbers to surround him, especially as his ardour led him to go too far, and he must have been overcome had not the German cavaliers fallen upon the turbaned enemy and forced their way to the gallant Pole. The efforts of the allies were redoubled, and this portion of the Turkish army was sent flying over the plain in every direction. The unmeasurable camp of the Turks, however, still covered the plain, while their artillery had not ceased to bombard the city. The Duke of Lorraine held a council of war to determine whether the battle should be renewed that evening, or whether the soldiers should rest until the following morning. Deliberation, however, was useless; the Turks, panic-stricken, were already flying away with the utmost precipitation. They abandoned their camp and all their baggage and ammunition, and even those who were engaged in firing upon the town relinquished their occupation and followed the example of the others. The booty made in the camp was immense; it was estimated at 15,000,000 dollars, the tent of the grand vizier alone being worth 400,000 dollars; 2,000,000 dollars were found in the military chest. The accounts given of the wealth of the vizier's tent seem almost incredible. He had been honoured with the standard of Mohammed, which, with the vizier's own banner, fell to the share of John Sobieski. This precious treasure of Islamism was presented to the pope, who was thereby for ever released from the terrors of Moslem invasion.

All Europe took an interest in the deliverance of Vienna. The King of France, however, who had by his commanding policy produced this Turkish invasion, and whose letters, containing the entire plan for the siege of Vienna, are said to have been found in the vizier's tent, was greatly confounded. When the approach of the Turks was announced, he was besieging Luxembourg, and though they came with his knowledge and by his desire, yet he raised the siege and hypocritically declared that he would never attack a Christian prince while Christendom was in danger from the infidels. He was confident that Vienna would fall and Germany be devastated, while he stood ready with a powerful army to prevent an entrance into France should the vizier prove treacherous and attempt an invasion. But his scheme was defeated, and he



returned to the siege of Luxembourg with his eagerness for conquest whetted by the overthrow of his allies.

Meanwhile the victors conquered Hungary, with Slavonia and Servia. The latter, however, was afterwards lost. The Turks were beaten in many battles, the most decisively at Mohacz, August 12, 1687. This war was prosecuted with great zeal, the Hungarians being compelled to renounce their old right of resisting the crown, and to acknowledge the hereditary claim of the house of Austria to their crown. Venice was equally successful with Austria in humbling the power of the Porte, and the sultan Mohammed IV. atoned for the misfortunes of his arms by the loss of his crown. His brother Solyman had been a prisoner in the seraglio, and a revolt was excited among the janissaries, in consequence of which Solyman and Mohammed exchanged places. The new grand vizier, Kiuprili Mustapha, was somewhat more successful in the field. The brother and successor of Solyman III., Achmet II., carried on the war until Louis, Margrave of Baden, gained a glorious victory at Salankemen, August 19, 1691.

After Achmet II., the throne was filled by Mustapha II., the valiant son of Mohammed IV. This prince led his armies in person, and carried on the war with success until Eugene of Savoy nearly annihilated the Turks at Zenta. September 11, 1697.

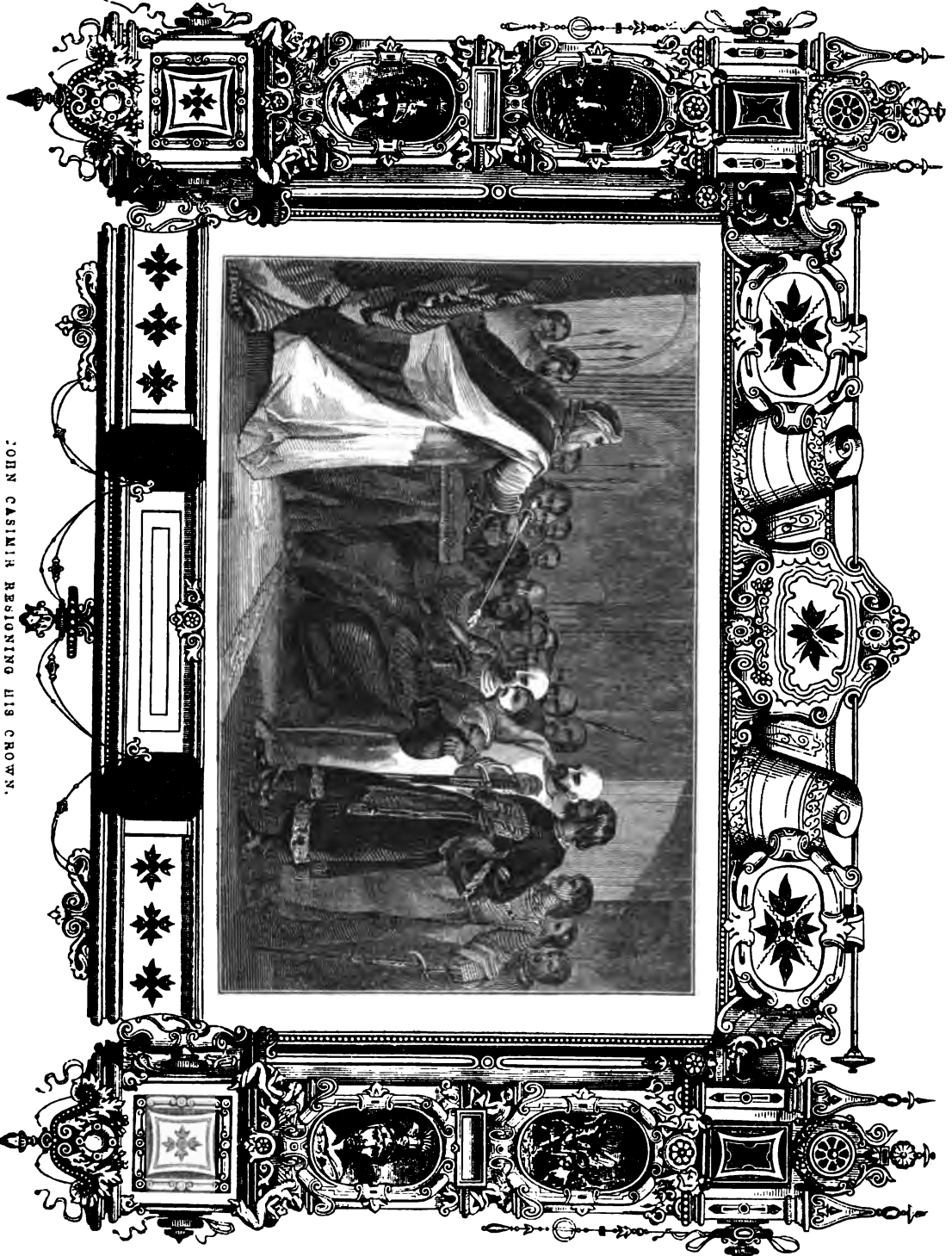
The Russian Czar, Peter, made war vigorously in the country between the Dnieper and the Don, defeated the Tartars and the Turks, and captured Azof. This complication of disasters humbled the pride of the Porte, and it concluded a disadvantageous peace at Carlowitz for twenty-five years, January, 1699. By this treaty the Emperor obtained Transylvania, Slavonia, and the province of Batschka between the Danube and the Theiss; the Turks retained Temeswar, with the country from the Maros to the Danube. Poland recovered Camaniek, Podolia, and what the Turks possessed in the Ukraine, and in return evacuated Moldavia. Venice gained all the Morea and some places in Dalmatia. Russia remained in possession of Azof. Soon after this peace Mustapha was dethroned by his soldiers, and his brother, Achmet III., was elevated to the throne. (1702.)

The Emperor Leopold was chiefly engaged from this time in the struggle against the ambition of Louis. The period of the war of the Spanish succession afforded many princes opportunities of elevating themselves without opposition to places which would have been violently disputed at a less stormy time. Thus the Prince of Orange became King of England, the Elector of Saxony succeeded John Sobieski on the throne of Poland, and Frederic III., the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, who had succeeded to the power of Frederic William, erected his territories into a kingdom, and substituted the kingly for the ducal crown. Henceforth he was known as Frederic I. of Prussia. In 1701, the Hungarians again revolted and carried on the war fiercely against the Emperor Leopold until his death, and then against his successors, Joseph I. and Charles VI. A peace was finally concluded in 1711, on nearly the same basis as the last. The accession of Charles to the imperial throne

destroyed all his hopes of securing the crown of Spain, and brought about a dissolution of the confederacy against France and the peace of Utrecht, and the subsequent treaty of Rastadt and Baden between France and the Emperor. The Emperor Charles reigned after the conclusion of the war of the Spanish succession, neglecting all the splendid opportunities which the humbling of the French power afforded for raising Austria to be the first in rank among the states of Europe. The last twenty years of his life he spent in attending to the internal administration of his territories, and to a careful computation of the physical powers of the other countries of Europe, the amount of their productions, and the number of their subjects and soldiers, a process in which he was imitated by all his contemporaries, by which the high intellectual scheme of the balance of power was materialized. Henceforth every sovereign sought for his independence in the number of his well-appointed soldiers; raising his forces in proportion as his neighbour's were augmented, and sharing in all the commotions of the continent without profit, with little honour, and at great cost. As Charles had no male issue, he had drawn up a solemn law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, according to which he transferred to his daughter, Maria Theresa, the peaceful possession of his hereditary lands. This he was extremely anxious to have confirmed by the leading states of Europe, and he succeeded in his object, though not without great difficulty. His Sanction, however, failed to secure his daughter, who, after his death, found herself exposed to a host of selfish enemies, each claiming some portion of her territories, and endeavouring to make good his pretensions by the force of arms.*

Vladislaus IV., king of Poland, was succeeded on the throne of that country by his brother, John Casimir. (1648.) A short time before his death, a revolt broke out among the Cossacks of the Ukraine, a people of Scythian origin, who dwelt on both sides of the Dnieper below Kiev, where they served Poland under a hetman or commander, as a frontier guard against the Tartars and the Turks. They had become by oppression the most inveterate foes of Poland, though once her most faithful friends. This result was effected by the non-residence of the landholders, who, being chiefly Polish nobles, never visited the Ukraine themselves, but committed the charge of their estates to stewards or middlemen, who enriched themselves by a double system of plunder from both the landlords and the tenants. One revolt having been suppressed, the diet of Poland voted a decree which annulled nearly all the liberties of the Cossacks; a decree to which a brave and warlike people would not submit without a struggle. A comparatively private instance of tyranny brought matters to a crisis. A Cossack, named Bogdan, who dwelt on the banks of the Borysthenes, had saved the wife of the castellan of Cracow from being captured by the Turks, and the castellan rewarded him with a windmill and a small estate adjoining. Here he lived happily until the castellan died, when the steward attempted to dispossess him of his property. He resisted, th

* Kohlrausch.



JOHN CASIMIR RESTORING HIS CROWN.

steward set fire to his house, and his wife and an infant son perished in the flames. Such an outrage was well calculated to rouse the passions of an already excited people. The Cossacks flew to arms, sought aid from the Porte, and were speedily reinforced by an army of forty thousand Tartars of the Crimea. Bogdan assumed the position of hetman of this army, made himself master of all the Ukraine, and then entered Poland, where his soldiers committed the most horrible deeds of violence.

Just as this war commenced, John Casimir ascended the throne of Poland. Supported by the sultan Mohammed IV., Bogdan assumed the title of Prince of the Ukraine, laid all Lithuania waste, and everywhere reduced the convents, the churches, and the Jesuit colleges to ashes. Unfortunately, John Casimir, by adopting the title of hereditary king of Sweden, to which he had a claim, added Charles Gustavus of Sweden to the list of his enemies, who invaded Pomerania. John fled to Silesia, while Charles marched unopposed to Warsaw. His imperious conduct, however, joined with the insolence and oppression of his soldiers, incensed the Poles, who fled in large numbers to join the standard of their fugitive king. The Czar of Russia, with whom they had previously been at war, made a truce with them, the states of Holland, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria supported their cause, and the King of Sweden was induced to make a peace, by which John resigned his foolish pretensions to the Swedish crown, and other matters were placed on the same footing as before. (1660.) Bogdan meanwhile had died, and the Cossacks had returned to their old allegiance on receiving guaranties for their civil and religious liberties. Hostilities with Russia, however, had been renewed, and war continued between that country and Poland until 1667, when they were terminated by a treaty very disadvantageous to the latter power. War with the Turks, too, exhausted the resources of the country, though these troubles afforded a field in which the great military genius of John Sobieski was formed.

At length John Casimir, worn out by misfortunes, seeing the land depopulated by incessant war and pestilence, which he could not avert but with great sacrifices, began to sigh again for the seclusion of the prelacy whence he had come forth to the throne. Twenty years his life had been embittered by the cares and vexations of government, and he now determined to resign the dignity. He assembled a diet, declared his resolution in an affecting speech, bade farewell to the people and to the country, and retired into France. Louis XIV. received him kindly, and he lived in a style befitting his rank until his death, which happened four years afterwards.

After the abdication of John Casimir, Michael Koributh was compelled reluctantly to accept the crown. He was very poor, had lived all his life in a monastery, and was totally unfit to govern. His whole reign, which lasted until 1674, was a period of faction and virtual anarchy. In addition to the other troubles, the Turks invaded Poland, and gained possession of the Ukraine, notwithstanding the prodigies of valour and military skill shown by John Sobieski. When Michael died, this great military chief was chosen king, and crowned at Cracow with unusual magnificence. As king, by extraordinary

exertions he augmented the military force of the country, and by his prowess rescued two-thirds of the Ukraine from the Turks. (1676.) He drew the attention of all Europe upon him at the siege of Vienna in 1683, and threw a great splendour over the name of Poland. But it was only temporary, and scarcely arrested even for a moment the waning destinies of the country. With him the greatness of Poland may be said to have ended, and even his talents were confined to achievements in arms. He was a great soldier, but no statesman; he could preserve his country from her foreign enemies, but his arm was powerless when the turbulent nobility were to be reduced to order, when an end was to be put to the factions which desolated her. One feature in the government which greatly contributed to its downfall was the power which every senator had of putting an end to the action of the diet upon any subject by his single veto. Scarcely any measure could be proposed in an assembly of four hundred persons which would meet the approbation of every one of them, and every member had the power to prevent the passage of even the most important laws when influenced by passion, by private interest, or bribery from abroad. The treaty of Leopold, 1686, by which the aid of the Russians was secured against the Turks and Tartars, was only purchased by considerable cessions of territory, and the unhappy king confessed with tears in his eyes, at the close of a stormy session of the diet of 1688, that he was unable to save the country. No foreign war disturbed the country, however, and Sobieski reigned, regarded as a cipher in the government, until the year 1696, when he died. The Elector of Saxony, Augustus II., was chosen his successor, and wore the crown of Poland when, by the peace of Carlowitz, that country gained valuable territorial concessions from the Turks.

No Russian prince was ever more beloved and respected by his subjects than Michael Romanoff. This prince, whose elevation to the throne ended the internal troubles of Russia, spent the whole of his long reign in remedying the calamities which those troubles had occasioned. During thirty-three years his mild and beneficent government excited a most favourable influence over the country, and Russia was restored to its former prosperity. The peace with other nations which enabled Michael Romanoff thus to devote his labours, was only obtained by permitting large tracts of country to fall into the possession of the Poles and the Swedes.

In 1645, Alexis succeeded his father Michael on the throne, and recovered by war nearly all the provinces which had been lost to Russia in his father's reign. During his administration occurred the revolts of the Cossacks in the Ukraine, above mentioned, an event which afforded great satisfaction to the Czar, who joyfully accepted the alliance of so warlike a body of men. The internal peace of his dominions was disturbed by a formidable rebellion of the Cossacks of the Don, who waged war for a time with some success, but were in the end subdued. The remainder of the reign of Alexis was devoted to improving the condition of his subjects. He revised the laws, established manufactories of linen, silk, and iron, and endeavoured to open a communication with China. At his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Theodore

who waged a war against the Ottomans. Theodore reigned but six years, and was followed on the throne by his two brothers, Ivan V. and Peter I. These sovereigns ruled conjointly until 1689, when Ivan was set aside on account of incapacity, and Peter, then seventeen years of age, reigned alone.

The first exertions of the young monarch were directed to the disciplining of the army and the increase of his resources. In 1694, he took Azof from the Turks, with the aid of a flotilla on the Don, the germ of the Russian navy. This acquisition laid the foundation of more extensive views. The politic prince resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Tanais, by means of canals, thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. Owing to the difficulty with which during nine months in the year vessels reached Archangel, Peter resolved to build a city on the Baltic, which should become the magazine of the North and the capital of his extensive empire. Several princes before this illustrious barbarian, says an eminent historian, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition or tired with sustaining the load of public affairs, had renounced their crowns and taken refuge in the shade of indolence or of philosophical retirement; but history affords no example of any sovereign who had divested himself of the royal character in order to learn the art of governing better; that was a stretch of magnanimity reserved for Peter the Great. Though almost destitute himself of education, he discovered, by the natural force of his genius and a few conversations with strangers, his own rude state and the savage condition of his subjects. He resolved to become worthy of the character of a man—to see men—and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring instruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he accordingly quitted his dominions in 1697 as a private gentleman, in the retinue of three ambassadors, whom he sent to different courts of Europe.

The first place which attracted his particular notice was Amsterdam, where he applied himself to the study of commerce and the mechanical arts, and in order more completely to acquire the art of ship-building, he entered as a carpenter in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived in all respects like his fellow-workmen. In his leisure hours he studied philosophy, fortification, navigation, surgery, and such other arts and sciences as he thought it might be necessary to introduce into his own country. From Holland he passed over to England, where he continued his application to the art of ship-building; and William III., in order to secure his friendship, entertained him with a naval review, presented him with an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of skilful workmen. At the end of two years Peter returned to Russia, accompanied by many men of science and skill, bringing all the useful and many of the ornamental arts in his train. The peace of Carlowitz, almost immediately concluded, seemed to afford him full leisure for the prosecution of his plans for civilizing his subjects. But Peter was somewhat ambitious of the reputation of a conqueror; he considered it

necessary to teach his people the art of war; he wanted a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic for the success of his commercial schemes, and he thought that valuable acquisitions might be obtained by uniting with the Kings of Denmark and Poland against Charles XII. of Sweden, then in his minority.



CHRISTIAN IV. OF DENMARK.

After signing the peace in 1629 which released him from his connection with the Thirty Years' War, Christian IV. of Denmark for a time applied his labours to furthering the interests of his kingdom. He gave vent to his warlike disposition, however, in hostilities against Sweden, whose sovereign had made certain unfriendly demonstrations. Christian was again unsuccessful, and a peace was made in 1644, by which Sweden gained important advantages. His successor, Frederic III., warred against the Swedes with no better success, but

he was consoled under his reverses by an act of the three estates of the realm, which proclaimed him and his successors absolute sovereigns of Denmark. His successor, Christian IV., was the idol of the Danes, partly on account of his warlike habits, and partly because of his attention to commerce and manufactures, and his regard for improvement in the condition of the humbler classes. At his death he was succeeded by Frederic IV., the ally of Peter of Russia in the commencement of the war against Charles XII.

The throne of Sweden, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, had been filled by his daughter Christina, a child five years old, whose government was administered during her minority by the Chancellor Oxenstiern. Her character is one of the most extraordinary in history. She possessed but little of the gentler qualities of her sex, loved the society of scholars and learned men, and displayed a great passion for the accumulation of books, medals, and philosophical instruments. In her twenty-eighth year, apparently induced by her desire of indulging her tastes and caprices at perfect liberty, she resigned her crown and retired into private life. (May, 1654.) Oxenstiern took no further interest in the affairs of the state after the abdication of Christina. He died indeed in the same year. Oxenstiern must be ranked among the greatest men who have taken a distinguished part in the affairs of the European world. Great and elevated views, a wonderful political sagacity and foresight, firmness and loftiness of purpose, wisdom in contriving and prudence and energy in

executing, a strict integrity, and a constant devotion to the welfare of his

country, are among the characteristics of this great statesman.*



OENSTERN.

Her cousin, Charles Gustavus, became her successor, under the title of Charles X. This sovereign made war against John Casimir with great success, but the Poles being aided in their struggles for national independence by his powerful neighbours, he was obliged to retreat from Pomerania. He then immediately invaded Holstein, subdued the peninsula of Jutland, and forced Frederic of Denmark to conclude a humiliating peace at Ros-

kilde, 1658. He nevertheless invaded Denmark in the following year, and seemed bent upon subjugating the whole kingdom, when death cut short his career, 1660. Charles XI., a minor, succeeded to his crown, and all the wars in which Sweden was engaged were soon settled by treaty. On attaining his majority, Charles XI. suffered himself to be drawn by Louis XIV. into the contests occasioned by the ambition of that monarch; a foolish step, which cost him a war with Denmark and with Holland. This war terminated in 1679 by the compact of Fontainebleu, the Swedish monarch receiving in marriage the Danish princess Ulrica Eleanora. Charles then applied himself to the internal affairs of his kingdom; the reformation of several abuses caused commotions among the nobility, who remonstrated against them; but an act was passed by the states in 1693, which destroyed the power of the aristocracy, by declaring the king absolute. After this Charles employed himself in mediating between the conflicting states of Europe. His efforts were successful, and the treaty of Ryswick was brought about by his means. In 1697 he was succeeded by his son, Charles XII., the great rival of Peter of Russia, then fifteen years old.

Peter the Great, having resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies north-east of Livonia, and which had formerly belonged to his ancestors, entered into a league against Charles with Frederic Augustus of Saxony, who had succeeded to the throne of Sobieski, and with Frederic IV. of Denmark. The Danish king commenced the war by invading the territories of the Duke of Holstein brother-in-law to the King of Sweden. Charles,

* Encyc. Americana.

upon whose youth and inexperience the confederates had built many hopes, seemed not at all alarmed at the confederacy which was formed against him ; but rather rejoiced at the opportunity for displaying the great talent for war which he knew himself to possess. At the same time he made all the necessary precautions and preparations, renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland, and sent an army to the aid of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein. In that duchy, the Danes, after taking some inconsiderable places, invested Tönning, while the Russians, Poles, and Saxons entered Livonia and Ingria. Charles, having resolved to carry the war into Denmark, left his capital, never to return to it ; he embarked his troops at Carlsroon, leaving an extraordinary council, chosen from the senate, to regulate the affairs of government in his absence.

Charles was joined at the mouth of the sound by a British and Dutch fleet sent to his assistance by William III. of England, and, by the co-operation of this naval force with his army, he hoped to take Copenhagen. As he landed, he put to flight the Danish force on the shore, and then, for the first time in his life, heard a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball. He asked Major Stuart, who stood near him, what was the occasion of that whistling he heard. " It is the sound of the bullets which they fire against your majesty." " Very well," said Charles ; " this shall henceforth be my music." The citizens of Copenhagen sent a deputation to him, who fell on their knees before the young king, beseeching him not to bombard the town. He granted their request on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thousand rix-dollars. While he was thus successful in Denmark, the king of that country was in a dangerous position in Holstein, where he had failed in his operations against Tönning, and where he was now cooped up, pressed by land on one side and by sea on the other. His capital and his fleet were in danger of falling to a powerful enemy in the midst of his country, and nothing but negotiation and submission could save him from ruin. The King of England offered his mediation, and a treaty, highly honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendale between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland. (A. D. 1700.)

Charles then immediately marched against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva with eighty thousand men. Charles had but eight thousand, but having carried all the outposts without difficulty, he formed the bold resolution of attacking the Russian camp. He broke up their intrenchments with his artillery, ordered his men to march with fixed bayonets, and then, under cover of a storm of snow which was driven into the faces of the enemy by the wind, he made an assault. The Russians were unable to withstand the shock, and, after an engagement of three hours, their intrenchments were forced on all sides. About eight thousand of the Russians were killed in the action, many were drowned in the Narva by the breaking of the bridge, thirty thousand were made prisoners, and all the baggage, magazines, and artillery fell into the hands of the victors. Charles entered Narva in triumph, supposing that by this one great blow he had rendered the Russians inoffensive. But Peter was in nowise discouraged. " I knew that the Swedes would beat

us," said he; "but in time they will teach us to become their conquerors." Though at the head of forty thousand men, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and brought back his raw troops into his own country, where he employed himself in bringing them to a state of discipline, and in civilizing his people. Charles did not pursue his victory; but, after spending the winter at Narva, marched against King Gustavus of Poland, who had besieged Riga in vain during the preceding campaign. He defeated the army of Gustavus on the well-contested field of Duna, July, 1701, made himself master of Livonia and Courland, and penetrated into Lithuania and Poland. At this moment, the Polish diet, jealous as ever of their liberties, and regarding the war with Sweden as a pretext for introducing foreign troops into the country, summoned their king to send his Saxons out of the country, and ordered him to admit no Russians.

The Polish army alone, ill-disciplined, weak, and distracted by factions, was unable to resist, while Charles corrupted some of its officers and many of the principal men of the country by his secret negotiations. He entered Warsaw, May 14, 1702, and soon after declared that he would not grant peace to Poland until it had elected a new king. The primate, who was in the interest of the Swedish monarch, and who had expected such a declaration, ordered it to be notified to all the palatines; assuring them that it gave him great concern, but representing at the same time the absolute necessity of complying with the request of the conqueror. Augustus now brought his Saxon troops to his assistance, and with these and the few Poles who remained faithful to him, he gave Charles battle in a spacious plain near Glissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow, July 9. Augustus fought with great gallantry, but in vain; three attempts made in person to rally his troops failed; Charles's valour and good fortune prevailed, and he gained a complete victory. The camp, baggage, cannon, and military chest of Augustus all fell into his hands, and Cracow surrendered without firing a gun. By a fall of his horse, however, Charles broke his leg, an accident which confined him to his bed for six weeks, and afforded an opportunity to Augustus to summon a diet to provide for the national defence. Charles, however, overturned all the proceedings of the diet of Lublin by another at Warsaw, 1703, defeated the remains of the Saxon army, and drove Augustus into Saxony. Through the intrigues of the cardinal primate, the diet at Warsaw now declared that Augustus of Saxony was incapable of wearing the crown of Poland, and in July, 1704, the palatine of Posen, Stanislaus Leczinski, was raised to the throne.

Although two of his enemies were thus reduced, Charles had still to encounter the power of the Czar, which was growing every day more formidable. Peter had afforded Augustus little immediate assistance; but he had made a powerful diversion in his favour in Ingria, and succeeded in taking Narva by storm, after a regular siege. When his troops had gained possession of the city, they abandoned themselves to barbarity and violence, which Peter, flying from place to place, only arrested by killing two of his soldiers with his own hands. He entered the town-house with the blood drip-

ping from his sword. Laying it on the table, he said to the magistrates: "This weapon is not stained with the blood of your fellow-citizens, but with that of my own people, which I have shed to save your lives."

While he thus saved one city from destruction, Peter was erecting another at no very great distance, intended to become the place of his residence and the centre of his trade. The site chosen for the new city of Petersburg was a marshy island between Finland and Ingria, around which the Neva divides itself into several branches before it falls into the gulf of Neva. It was a desert spot, a heap of mud during the short summer, and a frozen pool in winter. There was no entrance to it on the land side but through pathless forests and deep morasses, and every appearance indicated that it was not designed for human habitation. Yet, in 1703, Peter brought from all parts of his dominions, even from Astracan and the frontiers of China, a body of three hundred thousand men; he cleared forests, drained marshes, made roads, and raised mounds. Then only was he able to lay the foundations of his capital. An inundation demolished his works, the sterile soil would produce nothing, and a mortality carried off two hundred thousand of his men, yet Peter persevered in his undertaking. By the most liberal policy he drew thither artists and strangers of every description, and by the most able management secured peace to the infant establishment, while fierce war raged all around.

Augustus had not resigned all hopes of recovering his crown; he hastily collected new troops, found his way into Poland, and retook Warsaw; but was at length obliged to retire. He then concerted a scheme of operations with Peter, and sixty thousand Russians entered Poland to drive the Swedes from their acquisitions. Charles must have been crushed had success depended on numbers; but he met the enemy with an undaunted front, routed the Russian divisions successively, and inspired such terror by the rapidity of his motions that they retreated to their own country. (1706.) In the mean time a victory obtained by a division of the Swedish army over the Saxons, opened a passage for Charles into the hereditary dominions of Augustus, and he now marched with twenty-four thousand men into Saxony, and pitched his camp in the heart of the kingdom. Augustus then sued for peace; but obtained it only on the most humiliating conditions.

Thus far, the career of the youthful warrior had been so brilliant as to fill all Europe with hopes of his friendship or apprehensions from his power. Louis XIV., then in the midst of the most disastrous period of the war of the Spanish succession, solicited his alliance in the most earnest manner; and the allies feared so much from the effects of the proposed treaty, that the Duke of Marlborough himself went to Saxony to dissuade the Swedish monarch from accepting the offers of France. He complimented Charles on his victories, and expressed a desire to learn more of the art of war from so great a commander. Marlborough was too crafty not to learn in the course of conversation that Charles had an aversion to Louis XIV., and too observant not to discover from a map of Russia on the table, and the anger of the king when speaking of Peter, what his real intentions were. He therefore took his leave, convinced that the

dispute which had arisen between Charles and the Emperor Joseph might easily be accommodated.* Joseph acquiesced in Charles's demands for toleration for the Protestants of Silesia, and the relinquishment of the quota which Sweden was bound to furnish for the German provinces, and, to his great joy, the Alexander of the North departed in quest of new adventures.†

In September, 1707, Charles returned at the head of forty-three thousand men to Poland, where Peter had been endeavouring to retrieve the affairs of Augustus. As he advanced, the Czar retreated, but Charles determined to bring him to an engagement before he reached his own country. He made forced marches through morasses, deserts, and immense forests to come up with his enemy; but had only the satisfaction of defeating, after a bloody engagement, an army of twenty thousand Russians, strongly intrenched. The Czar sent him serious proposals of peace, but the Swedish king, whom nothing could satisfy but the reduction of Peter to the abject condition in which he had left Augustus, declared that he would treat at Moscow. Resolving on the destruction of that ancient city, but forming no systematic plan of operations, he crossed the frontier. Peter replied to the haughty answer of Charles, that though his brother Charles always affected to play the Alexander, he hoped that the Czar would not prove a Darius. He then destroyed the roads and desolated the country on the direct line to Moscow, trusting to famine, fatigue, and continual partial engagements to prevent his enemy from reaching it.

His policy succeeded. Charles, exhausted by privation, turned off towards the Ukraine, whither he had been invited by Mazeppa, the chief of the Cossacks, who had resolved to throw off his allegiance to the Czar. Peter discovered his plans, defeated them by the execution of his associates, and obliged the rebellious chief to join Charles in the character of a fugitive rather than in that of an ally. The Swedish monarch was the less affected by this misfortune, as he confidently expected the arrival of an army and a convoy from Sweden, which he had ordered to join him under the command of General Lewenhaupt. That officer, however, was forced into three engagements by the Russians, and though he greatly distinguished himself by his courage and conduct, he was compelled to set fire to his wagons in order to save them from the enemy.

Despite these discouragements, and the severity of the winter, by which two thousand men at once were frozen to death almost in the king's presence, Charles continued active hostilities. At length he laid siege to Pultowa, on the frontiers of the Ukraine, the seat of one of the Czar's principal magazines. It was well garrisoned and obstinately defended; the king himself being wounded in the heel as he was viewing the works. While he was still confined to his tent, he learned that the Czar was approaching to raise the siege. He would not wait to be attacked in his camp, but ordered a detachment of seven thousand men to press the siege, while he marched with the remainder to give battle to Peter. The disposition of his forces and the behaviour of his troops proved that the Czar and his subjects had at length learned to profit by the

* Voltaire.

† Taylor. Russell.

lessons of the Swedes. The latter charged with incredible fury and broke the Russian cavalry; but the horse rallied behind the foot, which remained firm. Meanwhile the Czar's artillery played with terrible effect upon the ranks of the enemy; while Charles, having left the greater part of his heavy cannon in the morasses and defiles through which he had passed, was unable to contend against this formidable disadvantage. After a desperate combat of two hours, the Swedish army was irretrievably ruined; eight thousand of their best troops were left dead on the fatal field of Pultowa, and six thousand were made prisoners. Twelve thousand of the fugitives were obliged to surrender after retreating to the Boristhenes or Dnieper, for want of boats to cross it. The military chest of Charles fell into the hands of the Russians, with all his treasures and the rich spoils of Poland and Saxony. The king himself escaped with three hundred of his guards to Bender, a Turkish town in Bessarabia, having lost in one day the fruits of nine years' successful warfare, and caused, by his rash valour, the annihilation of an army that might have spread terror over all Europe. The soldiers whom he made captive Peter transported to people the wilds of Siberia, where their necessities obliged them to exert to the utmost their talents and ingenuity.

The Elector of Saxony now protested against the treaty which he had been forced to sign, and re-entered Poland; Stanislaus was driven from the throne; the Kings of Denmark and Prussia revived old claims on Swedish provinces, and Peter invaded Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. The exiled Charles attempted to excite the Turkish monarch to a war with Russia; and for a while a war of bribery was carried on between the rival kings. At length the corruption of the vizier was discovered and he was removed. His successor opposed a war with Russia, but at the end of two months he was replaced by the Pasha of Syria, whose first act was the imprisonment of the Russian ambassador. Both parties made great preparations for war; and Peter was betrayed into an imprudent march to the capital of Moldavia by the representations of Cantemir, the governor of that province, who wished to throw off the Turkish yoke. The prince and his subjects were divided in opinion upon this point, and though the governor welcomed Peter to his aid, the people looked upon him as an invader and would sell him no supplies. The vizier arrived and formed a fortified camp in front of the enemy; and though Peter beat him off in three attempts to storm the Russian intrenchments, his immense host of light cavalry swept round the Czar's camp and cut off all his foraging parties. His destruction must have been effected by famine, but for the ability and heroism of his empress Catharine. This extraordinary woman had first attracted the czar's attention when in a very humble condition, at Marienburg in Livonia. The Emperor was struck with her appearance while she was waiting at table; he raised her to the throne, and never had reason to regret his choice. In the present emergency, when the prospect of unavoidable death or slavery had sunk the whole camp in despair, and Peter had retired to his tent in the most violent agitation, she boldly assumed the direction of affairs, sent a message and a present to the vizier, and in six hours concluded a

treaty on terms which, though severe, were more favourable than Peter could reasonably have hoped under the circumstances. (July 21, 1711.) In two hours after the treaty was signed, he received abundant supplies of provisions from the Turks; the Russians retired in safety; and Charles reached the vizier's camp burning for the ruin of his rival, only to learn the downfall of his own expectations.

The intrigues of the Swedish emissaries, however, caused the overthrow of the vizier, whose successor prudently determined to avoid a similar termination of his power by removing Charles from the Ottoman empire. (A. D. 1713.) The sultan sent him a letter of dismissal with his own hand, yet it was found necessary to resort to force to send him away. He made a fierce resistance, but he was overpowered and made prisoner, at the same time that Stanislaus, who had come to share his misfortunes, was also a prisoner in the hands of a guard of soldiers who were conducting him to Bender. Charles, whose infatuation amounted to madness, still persisted in remaining in Turkey, while his presence in the North would have made those who were dismembering his dominions to tremble. The Swedes, under General Steenbock, had gained a splendid victory over the Danes and the Saxons at Gadebusch, in Mecklenburg, and drawn upon himself the indignation of Europe by burning the defenceless town of Altona; but the Russians joined his other opponents, and he was compelled to surrender himself and his army prisoners of war.

Peter pushed forward his conquests in Finland, and gained a great naval victory over the Swedes near the island of Oeland. (1714.) This crowning glory was followed by a triumphal entry into St. Petersburg. Hitherto Charles had betrayed no concern at the progress of affairs in the North, but when he learned that the council which he had left to administer the affairs of Sweden was about to make peace with Russia and Denmark, and appoint his sister regent, he announced his intention of returning home. He left Turkey in October, 1714, and travelled through Hungary and Germany to Stralsund, the capital of Swedish Pomerania. Here, in the beginning of the next campaign, he found himself surrounded by enemies. The united forces of Prussia, Denmark, and Saxony besieged Stralsund, while the Russian fleet, which rode triumphant in the Baltic, threatened a descent on Sweden.

Charles displayed all his accustomed bravery in defending Stralsund, but was compelled to escape in a small vessel to Sweden, and suffer the town to capitulate. It was now supposed that he would be driven out of Sweden by his enemies, when, to the astonishment of all Europe, he invaded Norway. He now found his attention drawn to the great designs of his favourite minister, Goertz, who took advantage of a diversity of interest among the enemies of Sweden to propose a league between Charles and Peter, by which they might give law to Europe. While negotiations were on foot, Charles pursued his war with Norway, which he invaded a second time. He invested Fredericks-hall in the depth of winter, where his career was suddenly ended. His fondness for war had plunged the nation into the greatest distress; and this circum-



CHARLES THE TWELFTH.

*From a cast taken after his death.**

stance and the manner of his death leaves but little room to doubt his having fallen by a conspiracy in the camp, notwithstanding Voltaire's assertion to the contrary. He was shot while reconnoitring the enemy's works on the evening of November 30th, 1718, and his corpse was secretly brought to his quarters, and the story spread that he had been killed by a grape shot from the enemy. The appearance of his head, correctly represented above, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that he was struck by a brace of pistol balls, shot by a hand so near that both balls formed but one aperture in the skull. The importance of this event can hardly be overrated. It undoubtedly changed the whole course of European politics.

* The above illustration and the head of Peter the Great on page 226, are drawn from two valuable casts in the possession of J. Von Sonntag Havilland, Esq., which were obtained by him when in Russia, through the influence of his uncle, Admiral Count Mordwinoff, President of the Council of the Empire, and Minister of Marine. The history of these casts is as follows. Upon the death of Charles, his sister and successor had a mask of his features made from the corpse; from this two casts were taken, one of which was placed in the palace at Stockholm, and the other she sent with a complimentary letter to his old enemy, Peter the Great, (who placed it in his Museum, where it has ever since remained;) this delicate compliment was returned by Catharine upon the death of the Czar.

We have been thus particular in our account of the casts, as that of Charles affords a striking illustration of Voltaire's usual inaccuracy in historic facts. The account that he gives of the manner of the king's death, and of the subsequent conduct of his two French attendants, MM. Siquier and Megret, who at the time were generally believed to have been his assassins, is calculated of itself to create suspicion in the mind of every reader. Con-

At Charles's death, says a late writer, Sweden sunk from the rank of a leading power. In his last years he had formed great plans for the improvement of its navy, trade, and commerce. Firmness, valour, and love of justice were the grand features of Charles's character, but they were disfigured by an obstinate rashness. After his return, he showed himself more peaceable, gentle, moderate, and disposed to politic measures. Posterity, considering him in relation to his times, will say that he had great virtues and great faults; that he was seduced by prosperity, but not overcome by adversity.

As a sovereign, having charge of the interests of a great nation, he will not bear comparison with Peter the Great; as a general, he can scarcely be considered the equal of Gustavus Adolphus or Frederic the Second; but it is undoubtedly true that during his military life he was regarded as the great hero of Europe, and that he commanded more admiration as a warrior throughout the world than any of his able and valiant contemporaries.

scious of this, and anxious to exculpate his countrymen, he, for that purpose, relies upon the nature of the wound which caused the king's death as being of a character which a pistol-ball could not have produced. "*A ball of half a pound* had struck him on the right temple, and made a hole *sufficient to receive three fingers at once*. His head reclined upon the parapet; his left eye beat in, and the right one entirely beat out of the socket." The cast in question, taken from the flesh, proves the entire falsity of this description. Upon the right temple there are two distinct holes of the size and character which a brace of moderate-sized pistol-balls would make. Having thus given the facts, our readers must draw their conclusions; our own we have given in the text. That the king was assassinated we think the cast places beyond doubt; as such a wound could not have been received from the enemy. Any thing further we have no peculiar means of knowing.

In conclusion we will remark, as to these very interesting and valuable casts, that were our knowledge of the source from whence they were procured less certain than it is, they bear every intrinsic mark of authenticity; and together with those, before alluded to, in the Imperial and Royal collections, are believed to be the only copies in existence. Mr. Haviland has kindly permitted us to take the *first* drawings from them that have ever been published; and we believe engravings from these masks have never appeared in Europe.





DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

CHAPTER XI.

Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.



ALREADY at the treaty of Utrecht regard was had, when territorial concessions were made, as much to commercial advantages and privileges as to the fitness for war or productive qualities. The British negotiators who assisted at that treaty have been much censured for not having derived greater advantages from the victories of their unequalled general, the Duke of Marlborough; but though the treaty they framed contained the germs of two future wars, it laid the foundation of the commercial prosperity of England, and caused her to occupy the place at the head of the commercial states of Europe, hitherto occupied by Holland.

Upón the accession of George I. to the British throne, a change in the administration ensued; power was confided to the Whig ministers, who found themselves strengthened after an election by a Whig majority in parliament. They used their power to crush their opponents, and so violent were their measures against their predecessors that the Lords Bolingbroke and Ormond went into exile. This was thought a favourable time for an effort in favour of the Stuart family, and the Tories resolved to attempt a restoration by force of arms. Their expectations were by far too sanguine; for but a small portion of the people of England and Scotland were at all disposed to make war, even under favourable circumstances, and the Duke of Orleans, who swayed the destinies of France during the minority of Louis XV., was desirous of cultivating the good will of King George. He therefore refused aid to the Pretender, who nevertheless sailed for Scotland. The Earl of Mar had meanwhile commenced the civil war in the name of James III.; in Braemar, September 6, 1715. His standard was soon joined by nine or ten thousand men of the Highland clans, who rendered him master of all Scotland north of the Forth. There he weakly permitted himself to be checked by the Duke of

Argyle with an inferior force. No insurrection occurred in any part of England except in Northumbria, where the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, and Mr. Foster, a member of parliament, appeared in arms. They were joined by a body of Scottish infantry; but conducted their operations so badly that they were surrounded by the royal forces at Preston, and compelled to surrender at discretion. (November 13, 1715.) Most of the leaders were condemned to suffer the punishment usually awarded to treason.

On the same day with the misfortune at Preston, the Earl of Mar had fought a battle with the Duke of Argyle, at Sheriffmuir, near Dunblane, in which the right wing of each army gained the advantage, while the whole victory was undecided. Nothing but brilliant success could have saved the insurgents, and this battle proved their ruin. The wavering declared loudly for the existing government; and many of the insurgent leaders returned to their allegiance. On the 22d of December, the Pretender arrived at Peterhead, but without troops or arms. At the expiration of a month he was obliged to retreat before Argyle, and on the 4th of February he sailed with the Earl of Mar from Montrose for France. Besides many who were executed, about forty Scottish families had their estates confiscated in consequence of this affair, and many of the best inhabitants of the country became exiles for life.

Before we consider the effects of the policy of the Duke of Orleans upon the affairs of Europe, we will glance at the remainder of the history of Peter the Great. That prince, on the conclusion of peace with Sweden, assumed the title of Emperor, with the unanimous consent of all Europe. By aiding the lawful ruler of Persia in a civil war in that country, he obtained considerable accessions of territory on the south and west of the Caspian Sea, where he immediately applied his system of internal improvements. His treatment of his son Alexis, however, casts somewhat of a shade on his character, and serves to show with what difficulty the defects of a bad education can be overcome, and the probable abuse of absolute power by even the most patriotic rulers. Some of the Russian priests and Boyars had induced Alexis to promise that, in the event of his accession to the throne, he would restore the old state of things, and abolish the institutions of his father. Peter was filled with rage at the threatened overthrow of this system, which he had devoted his life to build up; he caused the prince to be arrested, forced him to sign an abdication of the crown, and threw him into prison, where he soon afterwards died, though the assertion that he was poisoned is extremely doubtful. Peter chose Catharine for his successor, and when, at his death in 1725, she assumed the reins of power, the excellence of her administration justified his choice.

The martial zeal of the Turkish nation was excited by the inglorious treaty of Carlowitz, and they flocked with such eagerness to the standard of the warlike sultan Ahmed III., that he was enabled to expel the Venetians from the Morea in a single campaign. (1715.) The Emperor Charles VI. interfered in the war as protector of the peace of Carlowitz. He raised an army and sent it under the command of Prince Eugene against the Turks. That gallant commander crossed the Danube, and defeated the grand vizier at Peterwaradin;



PETER THE GREAT

*From a cast taken after his death.**

the Turkish loss being twenty-five thousand men, that of the Austrians but five thousand. (1716.) In the next year, Eugene laid siege to Belgrade, which he captured after obtaining a bloody victory over an immense Turkish army which was sent to its relief. In consequence of these disasters the Turks sought peace, and a treaty was concluded in 1718, at Passarowitz, by which Austria and Russia were considerable gainers; but the Venetian interests were neglected.

This remote war, however, had but little influence upon the political condition of Southern Europe: that depended in no small degree on the preservation of the integrity of the peace of Utrecht, a measure in which every commercial power of Europe was interested. At this juncture the eyes of all the great powers of Europe were directed upon the court of Spain, where the unquiet ambition of the prime-minister of Philip V. was at work, forming the most audacious political schemes. Giulio Alberoni, the son of a peasant and originally a poor curate near Parma, had risen by his talents and his arts to be prime-minister of Spain. He enjoyed the favour of the queen and the complete control of her husband, and when he had obtained for himself a cardinal's hat, he endeavoured to signalize his public administration. To his comprehensive mind it seemed not too arduous to recover for the Spanish monarchy all that it had lost by the treaty of Utrecht. Victor Amadeus of Savoy was easily drawn over to his plans, and the pope and the Italian princes were not adverse

* See note on page 222.

to his designs. But he did not stop here. He extended his views beyond Spain; to France, where he designed to overthrow the regency of Orleans, and acquire the government for his master as the nearest relative of Louis XV.; to England, where, by the aid of Russia and Sweden, he proposed to re-establish the Stuart family, and thus secure a grateful ally to Spain; and to the Porte, where he wished to excite the Turks to war upon the empire, and thus prevent the hostile interference of Charles VI. The jealousy of France and England was aroused, and they quickly formed with Holland and Austria the famous Quadruple Alliance. (A. D. 1716.)

Alberoni pursued his schemes, and war was in consequence declared. For a little while the vigorous direction of affairs seemed to justify the presumption of the cardinal; but the resources of Spain had been too much exhausted by the war of the succession to sustain this new contest. Sir George Byng, the British admiral in the Mediterranean, annihilated the Spanish fleet off the coast of Sicily, and then poured such numbers of imperial troops into that island that the Spaniards, who had but just conquered it, were driven out. All the magnificent prospects of Alberoni were overthrown, and Philip was compelled to dismiss his minister and submit to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance. (A. D. 1720.) Had Alberoni succeeded in his daring and gigantic projects, he would have been remembered as the equal of Ximenes, Richelieu, and Oxenstiern, and perhaps neither one of those great ministers knew better how to set in violent and concentrated motion all the political springs of his time. In political virtue his reputation loses nothing by a comparison with those whose efforts were attended with better success; yet he, whom great and extensive views marked as a statesman of no common mind, has been handed down to posterity as a restless incendiary and a superficial politician.

The disorder in which the Duke of Orleans found the finances of France at his assumption of the regency, added to the deficiency of the revenue, induced him to listen to a project by which a Scotch adventurer, named John Law, proposed to pay off the national debt and deliver the revenue from the enormous interest by which it was overwhelmed. This plan consisted in the establishment of a bank of issue, whose shares were given to the national creditors in exchange for their stock, and also offered to the public. In order the more readily to effect a sale of these shares, the bank was joined with a company having a monopoly of trade with the Mississippi territory and Canada, from whose commercial speculations the most extravagant profits were anticipated. His success was so rapid that in 1719 the nominal value of the funds exceeded eighty times the real value of all the current coin in the realm. The bubble soon burst. The hopes of profit by the Mississippi company proved erroneous, the holders of the notes vainly endeavoured to convert them into money, and the whole scheme resulted in a general bankruptcy. Thousands of wealthy persons were reduced to indigence, which the government could not alleviate.

In England, Sir John Blount, one of the directors of a company formed for trading to the South Sea, proposed, in imitation of Law's plan, a scheme



MEDAL STRUCK IN COMMEMORATION OF THE TAKING OF PORTO BELLO.

for the purchase and management of all the government liabilities. The company was accordingly empowered to raise funds by means of shares. South Sea stock suddenly rose to ten times its original value, and other speculations were started with almost equal success. The wary now sold out their stock, slight suspicions led to distrust, and a general panic followed. A committee of parliament succeeded with great difficulty in restoring credit, by partially equalizing the state of gain and loss among the innocent sufferers, and thus a general bankruptcy was averted. Sir Robert Walpole, who was mainly instrumental in effecting this arrangement, became prime-minister, 1721. By his efforts and those of Cardinal Fleury, who succeeded to the direction of affairs in France after the death of the Duke of Orleans in 1723, the peace of Europe was almost uninterruptedly maintained for twenty years. A short war between France and Austria was occasioned by the Emperor's anxiety to have the Pragmatic Sanction confirmed by France. In the east the arms of the Empress Anne, niece of Peter the Great, triumphed over the Turks. The success of this princess encouraged Charles VI. to commence hostilities against the Porte; but he was unfortunate. This war was scarcely concluded when the death of Charles involved Europe in the contentions of a new disputed succession.

The distinctive features of Sir Robert Walpole's administration of affairs were his love of peace, and his efforts for developing the commercial resources and arranging the finances of Great Britain. He was rather unpopular, because he would not gratify the national hatred against Spain; but he contended against a powerful opposition by unbounded parliamentary corruption. The interested clamors of some merchants who had been interrupted in a contraband traffic with the Spaniards, compelled him at length to declare war. (A. D. 1739.) The capture of Porto Bello at the outset of the war induced Walpole to send out large armaments, under Commodore Anson, Admiral Vernon, and General Cathcart, against the Spanish colonies. Vernon and Cathcart, or rather Wentworth, who succeeded to the command by the death of Cathcart, failed in an attack upon Carthage; and though they were

both reinforced from England, they returned home, having lost some twenty thousand men. Anson was on the whole more successful, but the English would not renew the enterprise.

Maria Theresa had scarcely seated herself on the throne of her father when she found herself surrounded by a host of enemies. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Kings of France, Poland, Spain, and Sardinia, all preferred hostile claims, and Frederic II., the young King of Prussia, who had just succeeded to the throne and to the control of the full treasury and well-appointed army of his father, entered Silesia and conquered that rich province. (1741.) The French and Bavarians invaded Austria and Bohemia, and drove the queen from her capital. She fled to Hungary and convoked the diet at Presburg, where, with her young infant in her arms, she made so eloquent an appeal to the barons that they drew their swords in a transport of enthusiasm, exclaiming, "We will die for our king, Maria Theresa."

The whole force of Hungary was quickly marshalled round her, and the British parliament voted her considerable subsidies. Walpole was driven from office by the war party, and Great Britain was embarked by his successors in a quarrel with which they had no reason for interfering. The army of the queen became invested with preternatural strength, and the wild Hungarian hosts, thirsting for vengeance, drove her enemies before them. Throughout Bavaria they committed the most savage atrocities, everywhere marking their path with blood. Frederic obtained aid from Augustus of Saxony, put himself at the head of the Saxon troops, and pushed through Bohemia and Moravia to Olmutz, where he was joined by a section of his own army, which had penetrated into Moravia from Silesia. The Prussians burst in upon Upper Austria, their hussars swept the plains, carrying terror and dismay to the very heart of the capital. But the Saxons, by their want of energy, neutralized the advantages gained by their allies, and Frederic was obliged to retire from Moravia by the failure of Augustus to comply with his requisitions.

Meanwhile a Prussian corps, under the command of the Prince of Dessau, had reduced Glatz, and it now joined Frederic, April 17, at Chrudin in Bohemia. After a short period of repose here, the king again took up the sword, and speedily found himself opposed to the Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Field-marshal Königseck. On the 17th of May, the thunders of the Austrian cannon announced an assault upon the Prussian army, at Chotusitz, near Czaslau. The assailants were repulsed by Field-marshal Buddenbrock, who dashed upon them with irresistible impetuosity at the head of the Prussian cavalry. But the advantage derived from this movement was lessened by the confusion and disorder brought into the Prussian ranks by the clouds of dust it occasioned. Königseck then led on the Austrian infantry of the right wing against the Prussian left, whose position near Chotusitz was so disadvantageous that the infantry were compelled to give way, though the cavalry fought with intrepidity and courage. The victors fired the village, but this unnecessary act of cruelty was injurious to them, inasmuch as the flames served as a screen for their enemies. Frederic now headed an assault in per-

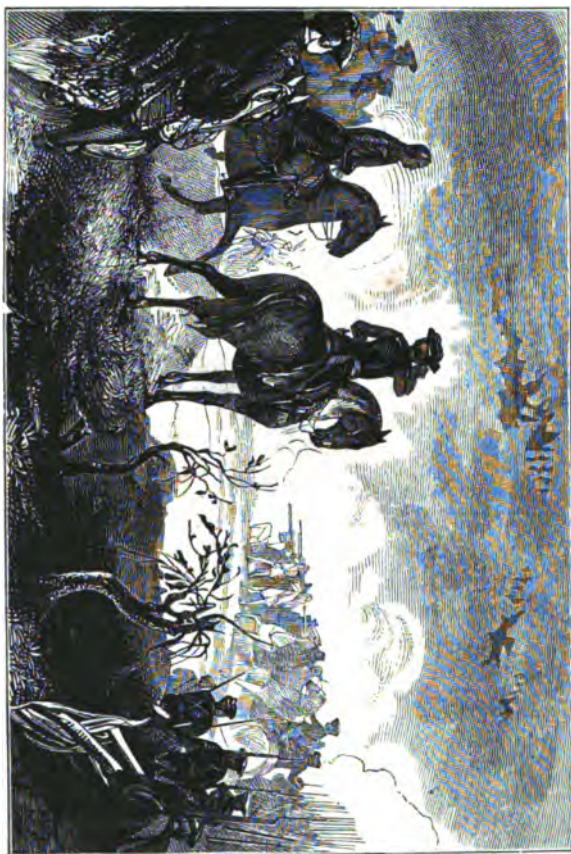
son on the Austrian left wing, drove it back upon the right, and charged into the ranks of both. Their position was disadvantageous, and the onset of the Prussians irresistible: the whole army fled in dismay. Thus, in a few hours of the forenoon, the heroic king won a victory which secured him a peace and the possession of Silesia and Glatz.

France, after having lost many men in the contest, and sustained repeated disasters, sued for peace. Maria Theresa, intoxicated with success, haughtily refused, hoping to gain still greater triumphs by means of Great Britain. The English, under the king George II. and the Earl of Stair, defeated the French army at Dettingen, when a little prudence on the part of the French commander would have caused the surrender of the whole English army, and with it the king and his prime-minister. (June, 1743.) George II. now took the direction of affairs into his own hands, but failed to improve his victory. The death of Charles VII. did not put an end to the war. The French and Spaniards, alarmed at Maria Theresa's alliance with Sardinia, concluded the celebrated Family Compact, by which they bound themselves to preserve each other's dominions entire. They determined to make a descent on England in favour of the Pretender, and assembled a large armament for that purpose, but a storm and the presence of a large hostile fleet prevented them from reaching their destination. (A. D. 1744.) In the Mediterranean an indecisive naval action took place between the British and their enemies, for which the gallant British commander, Matthews, who had fought like a hero, was tried and condemned.

In Italy the war was sanguinary but indecisive. Frederic of Prussia, having again taken up arms, was defeated with great loss and driven back into Silesia. In Flanders the French army, under Marshal Saxe, was attacked, while strongly posted at Fontenoy, by the combined army of English, Dutch, and Germans. Louis XV. and the dauphin were both in the ranks of the French army, while the English were led by the king's second son, the Duke of Cumberland. It is asserted that during the battle the British beat every regiment in the French army, yet they were in the end defeated, with the loss of 7000 men, and during the whole campaign, after this disaster, the Duke of Cumberland did not venture to face the enemy. (May, 1745.) Marshal Saxe reduced some of the most considerable towns in the Netherlands, but Maria Theresa achieved the principal object of her ambition, the election of her husband to the imperial throne. In Italy the Austrian and Piedmontese troops gained great advantages; in 1746, they won the battle of Piacenza against the French and Spaniards, and for a time occupied Genoa. In 1747, a bloody but indecisive campaign took place in Italy and in Flanders.

The discontent occasioned in England by the disaster at Fontenoy, induced the grandson of James II., commonly known as the young Pretender, to attempt the restoration of his house to the British throne. The French would now grant him no supply; but he nevertheless landed from a single vessel, with seven attendants, on the coast of Invernesshire, where he soon succeeded in collecting about fifteen hundred men around him. Sir John Cope, who commanded in Scotland, marched with 1400 infantry to suppress the insurrec-

BATTLE OF CHOTUSITZ.





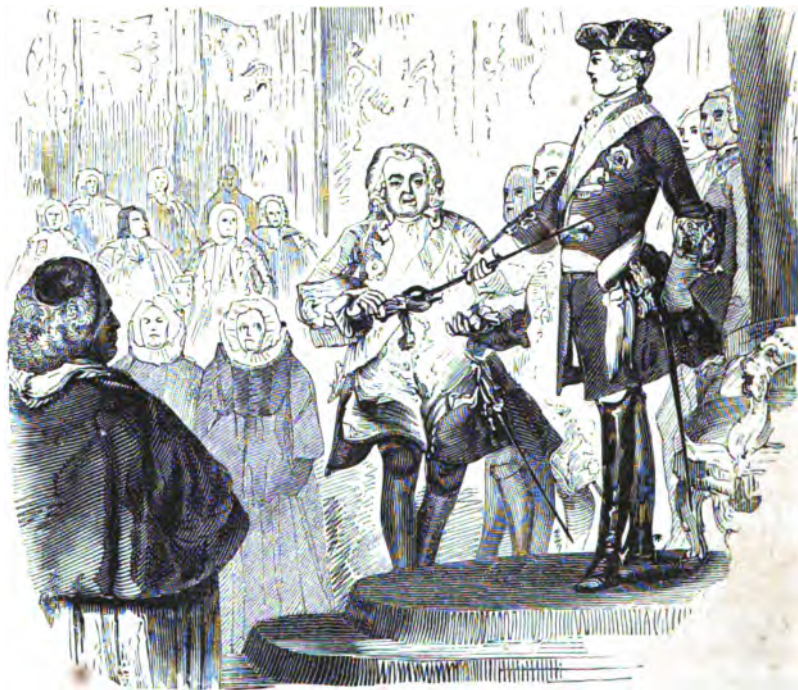
THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

tion ; but his measures were so ill-judged that the Pretender advanced successively to Perth and Edinburgh. Cope, however, ventured upon a battle at Preston-Pans, where the Pretender Charles gained a complete victory. He suffered six weeks to elapse in pageantries at Edinburgh, a period that allowed the ministry time to bring over troops from Flanders ; Charles, however, crossed the borders and captured Carlisle. He marched back to Stirling, where he met with considerable reinforcements, and was now sufficiently strong to hazard another battle with the government forces, at Falkirk. He was again victorious ; but unable to improve his advantage, he retired to Inverness, where he spent the winter.

In the spring hostilities were recommenced ; the government troops having been reinforced by a body of Hessians, and the whole put under the charge of the Duke of Cumberland. On the 16th of April a battle was fought at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, where the army of Charles was routed with great slaughter ; the victors gave no quarter, but murdered many of their prisoners in cold blood. Charles himself had the greatest difficulty in escaping from the country, and for several months the Highlands were subjected to the worst form of military despotism.

The spirit of the English had been revived by the account of the reduc-

tion of the French colony of Cape Breton, in North America, and the national animosity of both parties vented itself in fitting out expeditions against each other's colonies, which, ill-planned and badly executed, led to no decisive results. As all parties grew weary of a war which only resulted in a waste of blood and treasure, conferences for a peace were commenced at Breda, but they were terminated by the extravagant demands of the French, and hostilities recommenced. At sea, the British were generally successful; while on the land they lost the obstinate and bloody battle of St. Val, and the fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, believed to be impregnable, was captured by the French, who with it obtained the control of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. During the nine years' hostilities, the national debt of Britain had been increased thirty millions, and the French had expended an equal sum; they therefore agreed with all the other powers, at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, mutually to restore things to the condition in which they were at the commencement of the war. Silesia, however, remained in the hands of Frederic the Great, under the articles of the treaty of Dresden, concluded in 1745.



FREDERICK THE GREAT EXACTING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE FROM THE SILESIAN PRINCES ON HIS OWN SWORD. ATATIS XXIX.

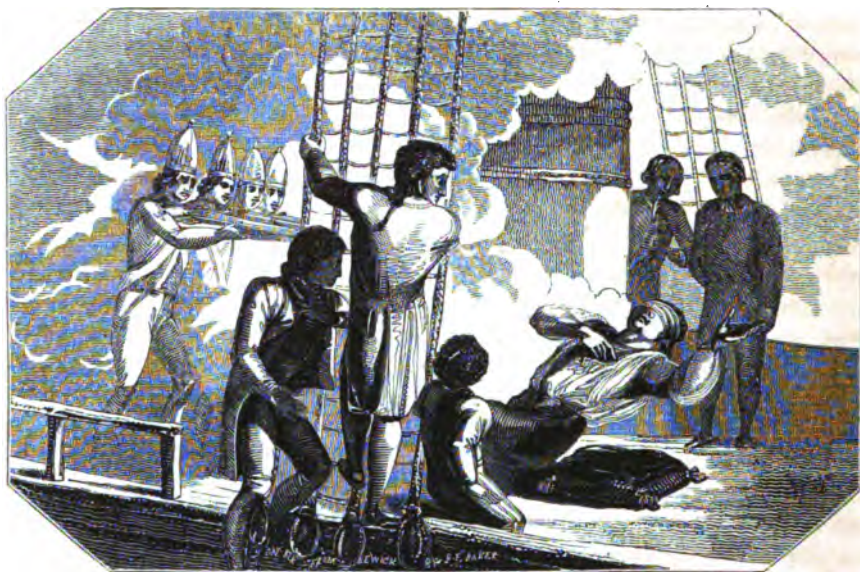


CHAPTER XII.

The Seven Years' War.



THE peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, owing to incapacity or want of information on the part of the negotiators, left unsettled most of the colonial questions at issue between England and France, thereby furnishing grounds for the renewal of hostilities. The limits of the English colony of Nova Scotia or Acadia, the right claimed by the French to connect their possessions in Canada and Louisiana by a line of forts along the Ohio, the disputed occupation of some of the neutral West India islands by the French, and the efforts of both nations to acquire political supremacy in India, all served to give rise to protracted controversies, which were soon merged into active hostilities. War was fiercely waged by the colonies of the two nations in 1755, but it was not until the following year that war was formally declared.



DEATH OF ADMIRAL BYNG.

This war had no immediate connection with a dispute which was about to involve Europe in one of the fiercest struggles of modern times, but they were blended together by the anxiety of the King of England to provide for his possessions in Germany. Austria looked upon Frederic of Prussia with jealousy, mingled with a desire for the recovery of Silesia. The Prussian monarch was besides the personal enemy of Elizabeth of Russia, and of Augustus III. of Saxony and Poland, both of whom joined in the plan formed for his destruction. France, under the disgraceful government of Louis XV., suffered herself to be drawn from that position in which she had risen to the summit of power, hostility to the House of Austria, to become the humble assistant of that power. This was chiefly effected by the able diplomacy of Prince Kaunitz, the real guide of Austria during four reigns.

The French commenced hostilities under favourable auspices. They made vigorous preparations for war and menaced England with an invasion, which, though it was only intended as a mask for their real designs, caused the utmost consternation among the British nation, whose government hired large bodies of Hessians and Hanoverians for protection. The reduction of Minorca, however, was the real object of the French ministry. A formidable force was landed on the island for this purpose, and Fort St. Philip, which commanded the principal town and harbour, was captured after a brave defence by General Blakeney. That officer was raised to the peerage; but Admiral Byng, who had failed in an attempt to relieve the place, and whose conduct was irreproachable, was charged with treason, found guilty, and shot. The popular discon-

tent at the loss of Minorca had been increased by the want of success which attended the English arms in America; the king was forced to dismiss his ministers, and a new administration was formed, the ostensible premier of which was the Duke of Devonshire, while William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was the real head. Some further concession being required by popular clamor, it was resolved to sacrifice Byng, whose only fault appears to have been an error of judgment. He was accordingly shot on board ship, and behaved to the last with a composed and dignified fortitude, which effectually clears his memory from the stain of cowardice which many British historians have laboured to affix to it. (1757.)

Frederic of Prussia assumed in the commencement of the war a stately behaviour. He called upon the empress-queen for an explicit assurance concerning the hostile preparations he saw making on his frontiers; but instead of a satisfactory explanation he received evasive answers, which left no doubt that the intention of the Austrians was to crush him. Ever prompt and decided in neutralizing the plans of his enemies, Frederic resolved to be beforehand in the field, and, by assuming the aggressive, to avert the war from his own territories. His dispositions were conducted with as much secrecy as they were executed with despatch; none but the most trustworthy generals received information of his designs, and the generals of brigades were not informed of their destination until the very eve of their departure. In this manner he completed his preparations, and then hastened into Saxony. Dresden fell, and Augustus was blockaded in his strong camp at Pidna. An Austrian army of fifty thousand men, under General Brown, advanced to his relief. Frederic first detached a part of his force as an army of observation, and soon afterwards putting himself at its head, resolved to give battle to Brown. The Austrian forces numbered twice as many as his own; yet he defeated them at Lowositz. In consequence of the defeat of their allies, the Saxons surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Augustus abandoned Saxony to his enemy, and fled to his kingdom of Poland. In addition to the twenty-four thousand men promised to Austria, and commanded by the Prince de Soubise, a French army of sixty thousand men entered Germany, under the Marshal D'Estrees, and menaced the electorate of Hanover. The Duke of Cumberland was sent over by George II. to protect that electorate with an army of forty thousand Hessians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Prussians. The duke attempted in vain to stop the progress of D'Estrees. That marshal defeated him at Hastenberg at the very moment in which a court intrigue superseded him in his command, substituting the Marshal de Richelieu. The new commander followed up the plans of D'Estrees, enclosed the Hanoverians near Stade on the Elbe, forced Cumberland to sign the capitulation of Clostersevern, sent back a part of the army to their homes, condemned the remainder to inactivity and left Hanover in the hands of the enemy.

The campaign opened inauspiciously for Frederic. An army of a hundred and thirty thousand Russians was on the borders of Lithuania, marching to invade Prussia; the Swedes, hoping to recover Pomerania, were ready to enter

that country; the French and imperialists were advancing through Germany, while Maria Theresa had assembled four armies for the prosecution of the war, whose united strength amounted to a hundred and eighty thousand men. Notwithstanding the immense preparations of his enemies, Frederic resolved to pursue his original plan of penetrating into Bohemia. For this end he divided his force into four divisions, and, by a series of masterly movements, entered that country and reunited his troops. On the march the Prince of Bevern had gained a signal victory over an army of twenty thousand men under Count Konigseg, and effected a junction with Marshal Schwerin. That officer had failed in his attempt to cut off the retreat of Konigseg, but had been so fortunate, notwithstanding, as to seize an immense magazine which the enemy had formed at Jungbuntzlau.* Frederic's situation appeared to be such that only uninterrupted success could save him from the loss of his kingdom. Fully aware of the importance of the stake, the great leader had marched on Prague, which was defended by Marshal Brown with one great army. When joined by the Prince of Bevern and Schwerin, he resolved to give battle and overwhelm Prince Leopold, who had taken command of Brown's army, before Daun, the cautious and fortunate Austrian, could arrive with his forces. On the 6th of May, 1757, was fought the battle of Prague.

Frederic, Ferdinand of Brunswick, and the king's brother, Prince Henry, distinguished themselves by their courage in the action; but the chief glory was with the gallant old Marshal Schwerin. The ground was swampy and hilly, and as the Prussians worked their way through and approached the enemy, they were received with a fierce cannonade, which made terrible carnage, levelling whole ranks with the ground. Every attack made was unsuccessful; it seemed as if human courage could hold out no longer against such destructive odds, and the Prussians began to waver. The stout old marshal seized the standard from the hand of an ensign, and waving it in the air, called on his regiment to follow him. He rushed into the thickest of the fire, where he fell dead, pierced with four balls; but General Manteufel took the gory flag from his hand and led on the troops to revenge their invincible commander. The great general of the Austrians, Brown, also fell mortally wounded, and his fall decided the fate of the day.

Victory remained with Frederic; but it had been dearly purchased. Twelve thousand five hundred Prussians lay dead or wounded on the field of battle; twenty-four thousand of the enemy were killed, wounded, or taken. One portion of the defeated army was shut up in Prague; the remainder fled to join the troops which, under Daun, were now close at hand. In the city the Prince of Lorraine was besieged with 46,000 men, without resources left to enable them to hold out any considerable time; if Daun had been defeated this host must inevitably have surrendered and the campaign ended in the most glorious manner by the Prussians.

The cautious Austrian soon found himself opposed by Frederic with thirty

* Lloyd's Campaigns.

thousand men ; but though his forces were far superior in numbers, he would risk nothing. He occupied at Kollin an almost impregnable position, and awaited the attack of his enemy. The battle was fought there on the 18th of June. Frederic had formed a most excellent plan for the action, and had it been followed out he would probably have secured the victory. The order of battle was that which Epaminondas had practised, and which is known as the oblique line of action. The Prussians in the onset routed the right wing of the Austrians ; the centre and the other wing of Frederic's army had but to follow up this success by falling upon the enemy's flank, battalion after battalion in succession, and thus complete its annihilation. Every thing was prospering, when Frederic suddenly ordered a halt. He appears to have departed from his own well-digested plan at the moment that Daun, despairing of success, had given orders for a retreat. Through the halt thus made, the Prussians found themselves directly in front of the position held by the Austrians, which they had strongly intrenched and rendered insurmountable ; a Saxon colonel suppressed the order to retreat, and when the Prussians attempted an assault, the regiments were swept away in succession by the destructive fire of the Austrian artillery. No exertion, no desperate effort could now obtain the victory, and finally the king found that his troops, having been repeatedly driven back with frightful carnage, could no longer be led to the charge. Thirteen thousand of the best soldiers in Europe had been sacrificed by the change in the order of battle, and nothing remained but to retreat in good order, to raise the siege of Prague, and to retire speedily from Bohemia.

Nothing appeared to be wanting to complete Frederic's misfortunes. The glory had departed from his arms ; his soldiers had ceased to confide in him as before ; his conduct was criticised, and his character made to suffer by detractors ; even his own brother William first complained of and then quarrelled with him. The inexorable king was greatly displeased ; he broke the heart of his brother by his reproaches ; and William retired from the army to expire in the following year at a country seat. He lost his mother, whom he loved with more affection than he was supposed to be capable of feeling, and the state of his affairs was such that his kingdom appeared irrecoverably lost. His allies, under the Duke of Cumberland, had just been captured at Closter-severn, leaving the French at liberty to turn their arms against him in Saxony ; his general Lehwald had been defeated in a desperate battle with 24,000 Prussians against 100,000 Russians under Apraxin, who was committing the most frightful devastations in Prussia ; twenty thousand Swedes had already entered Prussian Pomerania ; one Austrian army had entered Silesia and laid siege to Schweidnitz, while another, penetrating through Lusatia, passed the Prussian armies and laid Berlin itself under contribution. Frederic anticipated nothing short of his own ruin and the ruin of his family. He saw the whole extent of his peril. His sleep was broken, his mind was agitated with a sense of impending misery and dishonour ; yet he resolved never to be taken alive, and never to make peace on condition of descending from his place among the powers of Europe. If death were to be his fate, and nothing appeared more

probable, he had chosen deliberately the mode of dying; he carried a sure and speedy poison about with him in a small glass case.

His resolution once taken, the great king was speedily in motion. He determined, though his army numbered but 22,000, to give battle to the united forces of the French and Austrians, 60,000 strong, under Soubise. At Rosbach, the king took post upon a height, where the enemy, curious to see whether or not he would have the courage to make a stand against them, advanced towards his camp. Their object was to surround him completely, and to put an end to the war at once by taking him prisoner. The Prussians fired not a single shot, but remained perfectly quiet, apparently unprepared for, or not taking any notice of the movements of the enemy; the smoke ascending from their cooking fires indicated their present occupation, while Frederic himself took his meal with the general officers and staff, with the appearance of the greatest coolness and indifference. At length, at half-past two in the afternoon, the favourable moment arrived; Frederic issued his orders, the tents were struck, and the army formed in order of battle as if by magic, while the artillery opened a destructive fire, and Seidlitz with his cavalry dashed into the battalions of the enemy. The French were overwhelmed by the rapidity of action of the Germans, and routed in less than half an hour, before they could be formed into line. Some of them fled to the middle states of the empire, others did not stop until they had placed the Rhine between themselves and the victors. Seven thousand prisoners remained in the hands of the king, including nine generals and three hundred and twenty officers, together with sixty-three pieces of cannon and twenty-two standards. On this glorious day Frederic lost only one hundred and sixty-five killed and three hundred and fifty wounded.

Charles of Lorraine with a mighty power had taken possession of Silesia, whither Frederic now hastened. On the 5th of December, exactly one month after the day at Rosbach, he met that general near Leuthen, with thirty thousand men. The Austrians numbered sixty thousand, and in their plan of the battle extended their lines over a space of five miles; Frederic hoped to make up the deficiency of his numbers by the celerity of his manœuvres, and had again recourse to the oblique order of battle, and in four short hours his sagacity, tact, and courage obtained one of the most glorious victories recorded in history. On the battle-field Frederic conferred the dignity of Marshal upon the Prince of Dessau, who had led on the grand attack, in the following characteristic words: "Field-marshal, I congratulate you on the success of the battle." The darkness of the night saved the enemy from annihilation, but Frederic was determined to secure the fruits of this glorious day. In order to get possession of the bridge which crossed the Schweidnitz near Lissa, he selected Ziethen and a troop of hussars, and set out with a few guns on the road to that town. The party entered Lissa in perfect silence, but not unnoticed. Very soon a spirited fire was opened upon them by the Austrians in the houses, which the Prussians returned by discharges from their cannon. A scene of general confusion ensued, and Frederic, who knew the ground well, led his officers away to the mansion of the lord of the manor of



FREDERIC AND THE AUSTRIAN OFFICERS AT LISSA.

Lissa. At its entrance he was met by a number of Austrian officers of different ranks, who, roused from their supper by the firing, were looking after their horses and rushing with lights in their hands from the rooms and staircases. They were so petrified with astonishment at seeing the king and his adjutants dismount, that they could not take advantage of their numbers to obtain possession of his person. Frederic demanded a lodging, and the Austrian generals and the staff officers seized the lights and conducted the king up the staircase into one of the best rooms. Here they presented one another to him, and an agreeable conversation on general subjects ensued. In the mean time, Prussian officers continued to arrive in such numbers that Frederic at last asked in surprise where they all came from, and learned that his whole army was on its way to Lissa. The troops had silently and seriously broken up the camp, and each man marched forward, meditating on the events of the day. The cold night breeze swept along the fields, carrying with it the groans of the wounded and dying. Suddenly a grenadier set up the old German chant, "Nun danket alle Gott," which was immediately taken up by the whole army, consisting of 25,000 men. The darkness and tranquillity of

the night—the horrors of the battle-field, where at every step the foot trod upon a corpse—lent an awful degree of solemnity to the song; and even the wounded forgot for a time their sufferings whilst taking part in this general act of thanksgiving. A new spirit of strength sustained the weary warriors, when on a sudden a loud and long-continued shout burst from every tongue on hearing the cannonade in Lissa, and each vied with the other as to who should be the first to come to the aid of his sovereign. Well might Frederic exclaim that in the care of such troops the destinies of Prussia were safe. In the battle of Leuthen twenty-seven thousand Austrians were killed, wounded, or taken, fifty stand of colours, a hundred guns, and four thousand wagons fell into the hands of the king. Breslau opened its gates, Silesia was reconquered, and Charles of Lorraine retired to hide his confusion in Brussels. In one month, Frederic had extricated himself from his difficulties, with an exhibition of genius and energy unparalleled in the annals of the world.

The English, whose councils were directed with consummate ability by William Pitt, now violated the convention of Clostersevern, and the Hanoverian army reappeared under a leader chosen by Frederic to co-operate with himself, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. In 1758 the Count of Clermont opposed Ferdinand with an army numbering more than three times that led by the prince, yet the latter not only forced him to retreat across the Rhine, but attacked him at Crefeld and put him to a total rout, causing him a loss of seven thousand slain. Ferdinand by this victory gained possession of Dusseldorf, and scoured the country to the very gates of Brussels.

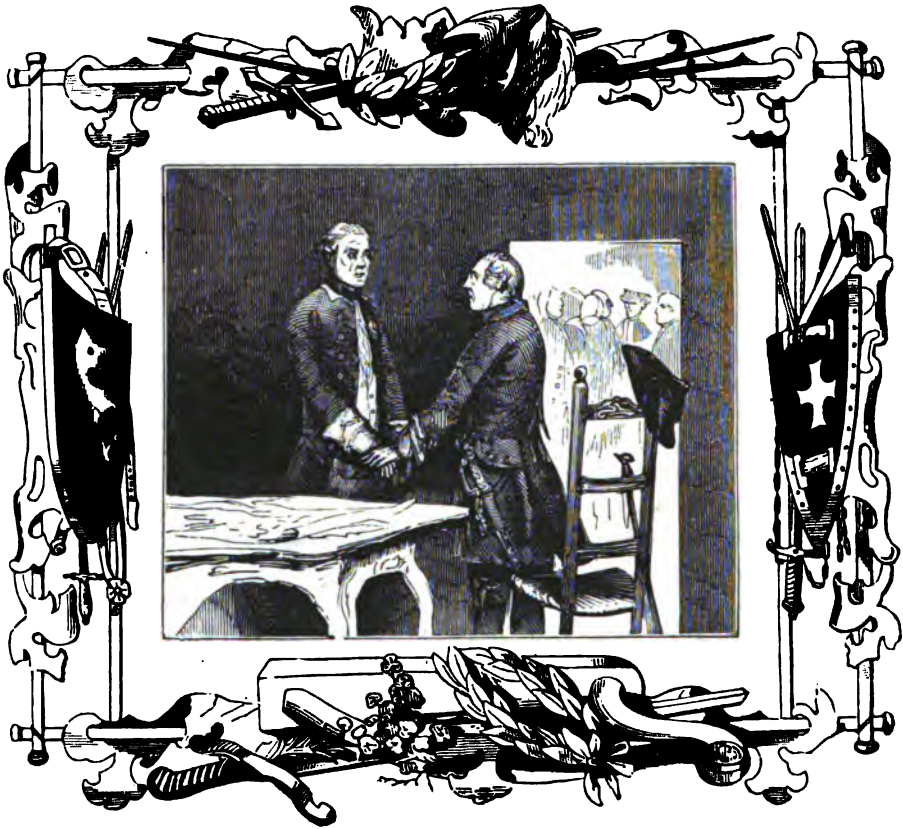
Soubise and the Duke of Broglio repaired in part the misfortunes of that day at Sunderkausen and at Lutzelberg, but in 1759, Brunswick, beaten by Broglio at Berghen, beat in turn the Marshal de Contade at Minden. On the latter field the superior genius of Ferdinand proved how truly Frederic had judged him when he chose him for a coadjutor in his astonishing designs. De Contade, contrary to all previous military practice, placed his cavalry in the centre, intending that his strange arrangement should operate to his advantage. Ferdinand's army was greatly inferior in point of numbers, but the steady coolness and bravery of the British and Hanoverian infantry answered his expectations and secured him a triumph. They charged the ranks of the enemy's cavalry; the French, astounded at their daring, attempted to force their lines and gallop over them, but the ranks of bayonets were solid and invulnerable, the aim of the musketry sure, and the fire of the artillery destructive; they were broken and forced to fly with precipitation. The victory would now have been completed but for the cowardice or treachery of Sackville, the commander of the British cavalry, who absolutely refused to follow up the advantage gained, and thus afforded the enemy time to collect their divided wings and make good their retreat. They lost however eight thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon, and Ferdinand was enabled by his success to recover all that he had lost.

While Ferdinand thus kept the French in check, Frederic was, as usual, active in the field. After attempting against the Austrians some operations

which led to no very important result, he marched against the Russians, who were committing the most barbarous devastations, sparing neither women nor children, the young nor the aged. The cities were laid in ashes and the country desolated. Frederic attacked the enemy, who numbered about 60,000, with a band of 37,000, on the field of Zorndorf, near Frankfort, on the Oder. This was one of the most sanguinary battles of the Seven Years' War, the combatants giving no quarter, fighting hand to hand for life or death, after the manner of the ancient Germans. The sight of the ravages committed by the Scythians had roused the Germans to vengeance, and the bodies of thirty thousand dead and dying which lay at nightfall on the bloody field proved how desperately the victory had been contested. Nineteen thousand of these were Russians.

The enemy abandoned Prussia entirely and retreated into Poland, leaving Frederic at liberty to march to the assistance of his brother Henry, who was hard pressed by the Austrians. In the short space of three quarters of a year, Frederic had gained three great victories over the armies of France, of Austria, and of Russia, and was now at the zenith of his military glory. He was speedily to experience again the opposite extreme of fortune. Count Daun, the commander of the imperialists, was a general of an extremely cautious character; but he was now united in command with Laudon, the most inventive and enterprising of the Austrians. Frederic relied too fearlessly upon the character of Daun, and was in consequence surprised and beaten at Hochkirch, with the loss of several of his best generals, nine thousand men, one hundred cannon, his camp, and all his baggage. Yet he showed himself as great after this serious loss as before; Daun found himself baffled in his attempts to follow up his victory, and Frederic, in spite of all his efforts, succeeded in marching into Silesia. Having driven the Austrians from that province, he returned, compelled Daun to raise the sieges of Dresden and Leipsic, and even drove him into Bohemia. He passed the winter at Breslau, writing bad poetry and preparing for a fourth campaign. It proved the most disastrous of the whole war. At its commencement, the Austrians filled Saxony and menaced Berlin. The Russians, under Soltikoff, defeated the king's generals on the Oder, threatened Silesia, and effected a junction with Laudon.

The most momentous dangers had thus accumulated round him. He saw no other alternative than marching in person to check the Russians. Summoning Prince Henry, he intrusted him with the command of the intrenched camp then occupied by the Prussian army at Schmottseifen, and, bidding him farewell, set out in person at the head of a considerable body of troops to attack General Soltikoff, who had intrenched himself strongly at Kunersdorf, on the Oder. The battle was fought on the 12th of August. In the early part of the day Frederic made every thing yield to his skill and the impetuosity of his troops. The lines were forced and half the Russian guns taken. The king sent off a courier to Berlin to announce a victory, but in the mean time the defeated but stubborn and unbroken Russians had made a stand on an eminence where the Jews of Frankfort usually buried their dead. Here the battle



PARTING OF FREDERIC II AND PRINCE HENRY.

was renewed, but the Prussians were again and again led to the attack in vain. Frederic headed three charges in person; two horses were killed under him, and his life was only saved from a bullet which pierced his dress by the intervention of his gold snuff-box. The officers of his staff fell all around him, his infantry was driven back with frightful slaughter. The troops were seized with terror, and a terrific charge made by Laudon with his cavalry put the wavering lines to a total rout. Frederic himself escaped with the utmost difficulty to a ruined farm-house, where he threw himself on a heap of straw. His second despatch to Berlin was very different from the first:—"Let the royal family leave Berlin. Send the archives to Potsdam. The town may make terms with the enemy." But three thousand of his army remained together; all appeared lost, and the king resolved to end his life with his reign. But the Austrian and Russian generals were mutually jealous of each other, and instead of immediately following up their victory, they lost a few days in loitering and quarrelling, and the days of Frederic were worth the years of common men.

On the morning after the battle he collected eighteen thousand of his scattered troops, twelve thousand more were quickly added to the number, guns were procured from the neighbouring fortresses, Frederic had again an army, and Berlin once more was safe. Yet he continually received tidings of great calamities. One of his generals with a large body of troops was defeated at Maxen, a similar result attended a combat at Meissen, and when winter closed the campaign, the situation of Prussia could hardly have appeared more desperate.

The only consolation afforded the king was the success of his favourite, Ferdinand of Brunswick, at Minden, and in the unwavering fidelity of the Prussians. They submitted with patience to the ravages of their merciless enemies, they murmured not when their king debased the coin, the civil functionaries went unpaid, they sustained their lives with rye bread and potatoes, and manufactured powder and balls. If a man was able to carry a musket, he shouldered it without reluctance to serve the king, and if he owned a horse he volunteered his services for the gun carriage or the baggage-wagon. Frederic was the idol of his soldiers, the delight and the pride of his people, the admired hero of all Germany. He himself openly thirsted for vengeance, and determined to maintain the struggle so long as the means of sustaining and destroying life remained. In 1760 he determined to protect Saxony himself, while Fouquet was to defend Silesia against the Austrians under Laudon, and the king's brother, Prince Henry, was to maintain Brandenburg against the Russians. Laudon by his immense superiority completely overawed the army under Fouquet, and treated the people of the country with the utmost cruelty and severity. Frederic commanded his general to make an effort to rid them of this scourge, and Fouquet took post at Landshut, where, on the 23d of June, he was attacked by the enemy. He had but 8000 men; the Austrians 30,000; yet, though attacked and surrounded on all sides, he bravely maintained the contest for eight hours, disputing every inch of ground. His horse was killed by a shot, and fell with his rider; Fouquet must have been slain by the swords of the enemy but for the heroic self-devotion of his servant, who received in his own body the thrusts intended for his master. The Prussian cavalry cut their way through, but all the infantry were slain or made prisoners.

Frederic endeavoured to obliterate this defeat by his own activity and boldness. He deceived Daun by simulated marches, and appeared suddenly before Dresden, one-third of which he reduced to ashes by his vigorous firing before the Austrian general could come to its relief. When that general came up he raised the siege, and marched to Silesia, where, through the treachery of one of his servants, an Italian, Frederic had lost the fortress of Glatz. Laudon had also laid siege to Breslau, but that city was gallantly defended by General Tauenzien until the arrival of Prince Henry. On his march Frederic was accompanied by Daun and General Lasci, one of whom marched on either side of him with an army, constantly fighting with light troops. The king at length reached Liegnitz, but was obliged to stop there, as Daun had formed a junction with Laudon and blocked up the passage to his magazines at Schweidnitz and Breslau. Prince Henry was engaged in watching the Russians on the Oder.

His enemies were so near him that Frederic was obliged to change his quarters every night. During two years he had experienced continual calamity, but victory now again perched upon his banners. On the night before the 15th of August, he marched with his army to the heights of Puffendorf, leaving his old camp fires burning and some Prussian patrols there on duty. About two o'clock in the morning he was awakened by an officer in command of a patrol of hussars, who informed him that the enemy was at hand and scarcely a hundred yards from the camp. In a few minutes his officers were in the saddle, his army was drawn up in battle array, and his artillery was pouring destruction on the foe. This was the advance of the Austrian army, which Laudon was leading to the heights of Puffendorf, whence he intended to attack Frederic in the rear on the following day, whilst Daun should engage him on the other side.

At daybreak the astonished Austrian found himself opposed to the whole Prussian army, yet he redoubled the ardour of his attack, hoping that Daun would hear the artillery and come to his support. The wind, however, was contrary; Daun heard nothing. Laudon was defeated with a loss of four thousand killed, six thousand wounded, and eighty-two pieces of artillery. While he hastily retreated to Katzbach, Daun advanced against the king's army, and was received by General Ziethen at the head of the right wing of the Prussians with a very heavy discharge of artillery. As soon as he learned the fate of Laudon's detachment, Daun followed the example of that general. Within three hours after his retreat, Frederic, who now had an open road to his supplies at Breslau, was on the march, the captured cannon placed in the train of his artillery, the prisoners in the centre, and the wounded, friends and foes, in the wagons in the rear.

The next battle in which the king engaged was that of Torgau, where, after a day of the most horrible carnage, he triumphed over Daun. In this battle, the king staked a great loss against a great gain, and had made up his mind to die should his perilous chance miscarry. By this victory he reconquered the greater part of Saxony, and fixed his head-quarters for the winter at Leipsic. The fifth year had closed, and the event of the war still hung in the most painful suspense. The enemy had again occupied Berlin, plundered the royal palace, and levied contributions on the inhabitants. In the countries where the war had raged, the misery and exhaustion were more appalling than ever; but still there were left men and beasts, arms and food, and still Frederic fought on. He struggled with various success but constant glory through the campaign of 1761; the result of which on the whole was disastrous to Prussia. The enemy gained no great battle, yet the king was continually more and more hemmed in. Laudon contrived to surprise the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which gave him the command of half Silesia and the most important defiles in the mountains. In Pomerania, Frederic's generals had been overpowered by the Russians. The king himself confesses that he began to look around him in blank despair, unable to imagine where recruits, horses, or provisions were to be found.

The great success which had attended the administration of William Pitt in the colonial war with France in America and the East Indies, had made the English people weary of continental connections. But the unflinching minister regarded the continental war as his own war; he declared that Hanover should be as dear to the English nation as any part of England itself, and that he would never make a peace of Utrecht, never for any object abandon an ally, even in the last extremity of distress. He therefore pushed the operations of the British arms in every quarter of the globe with the greatest vigour. But the success which everywhere else attended the English standard, made the people still more impatient of the German war; they complained of the inactivity of the navy, and asserted that the French islands in the West Indies, more valuable to them as a commercial people than half the German empire, might have been gained with far less risk and loss than attended the protection of the useless electorate of Hanover.

In the midst of the dispute, George II. died suddenly, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1760. His grandson, George III., then in his twenty-third year, succeeded to the throne. This event caused a considerable change to take place in the policy of England. Pitt was strongly impressed with the policy of declaring war against Spain, and of supporting with vigour the operations on the continent, but was thwarted in his designs by the opposition of Lord Bute, the favourite of the new monarch. Loudly as the parliament advocated the cause of Frederic, who had been recognised by it under the names of the Great and Invincible, yet Lord Bute, anxious that England should enjoy the advantages of peace, destroyed a new treaty for an alliance between England and Prussia, and stopped the payment of all future subsidies.

The death of Ferdinand VI. of Spain and the accession of Charles III. to that throne, was a more important event. The new monarch was inclined to depart from the peaceful policy of his predecessor, and he therefore signed the Family Compact, which bound the two branches of the Bourbon house to afford each other mutual assistance, and prepared to join in the war against England. Ineffectual negotiations were commenced soon after the accession of George III., but with little sincerity on either side. The campaign of 1761 was so languid, however, as to prove that all parties were tired of the war, and negotiations for peace were renewed. Spain, though desirous of a breach with England, feared her naval superiority too much to venture upon a maritime war, while she believed the Bourbon alliance to be also superior by land. She therefore attacked England through the side of her ally, the kingdom of Portugal; but the troops of Joseph the First, aided by 8000 British and led by the Count de la Lippe, drove the Spaniards from Portugal before the close of the campaign. The French had hoped that the diversion in Portugal would facilitate the progress of their arms in Germany; but Ferdinand of Brunswick maintained Hanover and recovered the greater part of Hesse, whilst Frederic had again triumphed over the adverse circumstances with which we left him surrounded at the close of the campaign of 1761. Though deprived of his only friend by the retirement of Mr. Pitt, he found another in the Czar Peter III.



WILLIAM STUART, EARL OF BUTE.

of Russia, who at this crisis succeeded Elizabeth on the Russian throne. He was a warm admirer and devoted friend of the Prussian hero, and his accession produced an entire revolution in the politics of the North. He released the Prussian prisoners, clothed them and sent them back to their king, absolved from their engagements all those Prussians who had been compelled to swear fealty to Russia, concluded peace on terms favourable to Prussia, and sent fifteen thousand men to reinforce the shattered army of Frederic.

The warrior of Brandenburg could once more indulge his thirst for vengeance. He speedily repaired the losses of the preceding year, reconquered Silesia, defeated Daun at Buckersdorf, invested and retook Schweidnitz, and at the close of the year presented to the forces of Maria Theresa a front as formidable as before the great reverses of 1759. Before the end of the campaign, however, his friend, the Czar Peter III., was deposed by his wife, who usurped the throne with the title of Catharine II. Peter soon after died in prison, a supposed

victim to violence. Catharine determined not to take further part in the war; she withdrew her troops from Frederic, and remained neutral. Sweden had already concluded peace with Prussia. Bohemia was now invaded by the victorious king. Prague saw one division of his army at her gates, destroying her magazines, while the ashes of the unfortunate city of Egra, and the ravaged plains of Franconia and Suabia, bore witness to the zeal with which the other carried on the work of devastation. The princes of the empire hastened to conclude treaties of neutrality, and the war was left to be continued by Prussia and Austria alone. England and France had paired off together, and concluded a treaty by which they bound themselves to observe neutrality respecting the German war. Spain and Portugal were parties to this treaty—which was shameful for the French. They surrendered Nova Scotia, Canada and its dependencies, the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. England also received or retained the island of Minorca and Fort St. Philip, Senegal in Africa, and the electorate of Hanover. Maria Theresa, not daring to hope that her own power could accomplish what the united forces of the German empire, Russia, and France had not effected, and finding herself menaced on the side of Hungary by the Porte, at length gave up the contest.

The peace of Hubertsburg put an end to the Seven Years' War. The statesmen who represented Prussia at that negotiation would cede nothing, the king retained Silesia, which the whole continent in arms had failed to tear from his iron grasp. The war was over. Frederic was safe. He had given an example, unrivalled in history, of what capacity and resolution can effect against the greatest superiority of power and the utmost spite of fortune. After an absence of more than six years he entered Berlin in triumph, amid the loud praises and blessings of his people, who seemed to forget in the delight of victory the miseries which they had suffered from the war. These, however, had been frightful. The capital itself had been more than once plundered; almost every province had been the seat of merciless war, waged by French and Germans, by hosts of Croats in Silesia, by tens of thousands of Cossacks in Pomerania and Brandenburg. More than a hundred millions of dollars had been levied by the invaders, and they had destroyed property to a much greater amount. The fields lay uncultivated; the seed corn had been devoured, famine and contagion resulting from it had swept away the flocks and herds, and nearly fifteen thousand houses had been burned to the ground.

During the war the population of the kingdom had decreased ten per cent., one-sixth of the males capable of bearing arms had perished on the battle-field. In some districts, none but women were to be found cultivating the soil; in others the traveller passed shuddering through a succession of deserted villages. The currency had been debased; the authority of laws and magistrates had been suspended; the whole social system was deranged. It was hardly to be hoped that a whole age of peace and industry would repair the ruin which these seven years of war, military violence, and anarchy had produced. Yet there was one consolatory circumstance. No debt had been incurred. The burdens of the

war had been terrible, almost insupportable ; but no arrear was left to embarrass the finances in time of peace.*

This severe and sanguinary war, however, had inculcated several great lessons, to which Europe was indebted for the tranquillity she enjoyed for nearly thirty years after the peace of Hubertsburg. Agitation in public affairs, suspicion, and jealousy, productive of so much hostility among states, were now at an end, and all were sincere in the conviction that the actual condition of affairs would be lasting. Fate had pronounced the decree that, however limited its sphere, the power of Prussia rested upon a sure and solid basis as long as it was guided and governed by united thought and action. An earnest, industrious, and warlike feeling, evinced both by king and people, justice and economy in the administration of affairs, a progressive spirit of research for all that the age brings with it and yields of the really good and noble—such were the means which enabled Frederic and his nation to maintain single-handed the war against the moiety of Europe.

At this time, likewise, as on every former occasion when threatened with the danger of vicissitude, Austria indicated that her power was not so easily destroyed, that her rich and beautiful domains, the faithful adherence and co-operation of her inhabitants, their attachment to a mild and paternal government, nourished within themselves a germ of life, unchangeable and unsurpassed. The Hessians, the Hanoverians, and the troops of Lower Saxony evinced, when fighting against the French invaders, enduring perseverance and courage to such a degree as to add greatly to the glory of the German name. The fame of this war conduced especially to the honour of the Germans generally. The names of Frederic the Great and Ferdinand of Brunswick were proclaimed throughout the world as those of heroes who in the tumult of battle had shown superiority of mind, and had given undeniable proofs of that rapidity of thought which knows how to seize the immediate moment for action. With them was included the brother of the great king, Prince Henry, who appeared to have been united to the royal hero in order that he might repair his faults, and of whom Frederic himself said, "He is the only general throughout the entire war who committed no faults." He was the perfect model of what a prudent and wary general should be, knowing how to keep an enemy of far superior force in constant exercise, while at the same time, by well-laid plans, he adroitly maintained his own ground without exposing his little band to that destruction otherwise so inevitable. Finally in the list of heroic names, those of Ziethen and Seidlitz, who especially distinguished themselves at the head of the cavalry, appeared conspicuous with the rest.

The heroic empress, Maria Theresa, who had been entirely indebted to her own mind for the preservation of her fortunes, could point with pride to the achievements of her troops. The conduct of the war had proved the Austrian generals to be unsurpassed in the art of selecting masterly positions for an army, or of choosing the critical, well-timed moment for bring-

* Macaulay.



MARIA THERESA.

ing the guns to work with fatal and unerring effect. She could refer with a feeling of honourable pride to the great names of Brown, Laudon, Nadasti, Laschi, and others, as in after years they recalled the events of the war. But more than all, she could rejoice in the affection and enthusiasm of the nation over which she held sway, and which had preserved her from ruin only by the unshaken fidelity with which it had adhered to her. She had passed safely through the most dangerous vicissitudes, trusting wholly to the loyalty of her people, who though rude, turbulent, and impatient of tyranny, were faithful and valiant. She had not mistaken the character of her subjects, nor wanted the means for combatting any enemy, however formidable.

France gained but little honour in this war; her feeble, unsystematic government had already shown that its administration was in the hands of women and their favourites, and hence it languished in mortal throes. One of the greatest French historians* thus sums up the history of the Seven Years' War.

The defeat at Rosbach renewed at Crevelt—great reverses, balanced by trifling advantages—the total ruin of the French navy and of the French colonies—the English masters of the seas and conquerors of India—the weakness, the humiliation of all Old Europe before Young Prussia—this is the Seven Years' War. France, nevertheless, did not lose so much by the peace of Paris, which was signed five days previous to that of Hubertsburg, as might have been expected after the success of the English at sea; but this peace was brought about by the not over-sagacious statesman, the Earl of Bute, while Pitt, on the contrary, when presiding at the head of the administration, had in the course of the war made manifest in the most brilliant manner what extraordinary energy dwelt in the English nation, and which only waited for the proper motive to be brought into full operation.†

The most striking feature in the history of the Seven Years' War, is the heroism and generalship of Frederick the Great. After maintaining the struggle for six years, his affairs seemed utterly desperate. Maria Theresa was so certain of the crowning success of the next year, that she considered it perfectly advisable to disband 20,000 of her army; a step rendered in some measure advisable by the extremely exhausted state of her exchequer. Frederic's con-

* Michelet.—Modern History.

† Kohlrausch.

victions were, at that moment, of the same kind ; but with the calmness of intrepidity he looked the future in the face, determined on doing naught which might compromise his own dignity. In his calmness and elevated composure, he raised his mind above the present, and exalted himself above the petty relations in which he was placed. He commemorated in poetry the heroism of the Emperor Otho, who sacrificed himself to prevent his subjects from being annihilated beneath the sword of the conqueror ; he eulogized Cato of Utica, who, as a free Roman citizen, resigned his life rather than submit to be false to himself and grace in chains the triumphant chariot of a tyrant. With such memorials of the past he steeled his resolution to wait the last decisive moment. The war had now terminated gloriously for him, and his undaunted heroism had met its reward.*

* Kugler.





CHAPTER XIII.

From the Peace of Paris to the French Revolution.



THE French nation had suffered most by the Seven Years' War; the finances had long been in a distressed condition, and the disgraceful luxury of the court required an expenditure which aggravated the national distress. The king was the slave of his appetites and the tool of those who ministered to them; under their control he sanctioned the most glaring acts of tyranny and rapacity, and connived at the grossest abuses. Each year the expenditure had exceeded the revenue by many millions, and the taxes, which the war had prodigiously augmented, underwent no reduction on the restoration of peace. A general parliamentary effort was made throughout the kingdom to obtain some alleviation of the public burdens, several of the parliaments refused to register the edicts for the continuance of the war-taxes, and others remonstrated in a tone of censure to which the French monarchs had long been unaccustomed.

Louis had been obliged to give up the Jesuits to the parliaments, their

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deadly enemies. Besides the legislative bodies, the philosophers and the people were all arrayed against this body, by their intolerance, their ambition, and their intrigues. While these parties lay in wait for an opportunity to deal them a fatal blow, it was afforded by the bankruptcy of the Jesuit Lâvallette, who failed for several millions. The society was summoned to be answerable for his deficiencies, but refused, and offered nothing more than prayers to the victims of the insolvency. The parliaments thundered forth decrees against the members of the order, who defended themselves feebly. A convention of bishops supported the Jesuits, but the parliament relaxed none of their opposition; the Duke of Choiseul, the prime-minister, vigorously supported the magistrates, and Louis sacrificed the Jesuit order to his own repose. By an edict issued in 1764, the order was suppressed throughout the kingdom, leave being given the members to reside in France as private individuals. All the Bourbon courts declared about the same time against this famous society. They were expelled first from Portugal, where several of its members had been accomplices in the assassination of King Joseph, and successively driven from Spain, Naples, and Parma.



POPE CLEMENT XIV. GANGANELLI.

The total extinction of the order was vehemently solicited at Rome by the Duke de Choiseul. Clement XIII., then pope, refused the desired brief, but it was accorded in 1771 by the famous Ganganelli, otherwise Pope Clement XIV., who thus destroyed the firmest support of the papal pretensions. So extensive was this hostility of the Catholic powers to the pontifical jurisdiction, that when Clement XIII. made an effort to support the ancient pretensions of the See, he found himself opposed to all the Italian states except the kingdom of Sardinia, to the remonstrances of Spain and Portugal, and the active hostility of France. These fatal disputes with the Catholic princes served only to exhibit to contempt the imbecility of his spiritual authority, and his designs only exposed himself and his

dignity to cruel humiliations. He died in 1769, and it required all the conciliatory efforts of his successor to calm the irritation which his injudicious violence had excited among the powers of Europe. Lorenzo Ganganelli, who seated himself in the chair of St. Peter at this critical juncture, was eminently qualified for allaying the ferment which his imprudent predecessor had provoked. His wise and moderate conduct soon healed all the divisions of the Roman Catholic Church. Regular but unostentatious in all the exercises of devotion; simple and unaffected in his manners; intellectual and philosophical in his tastes; humanity and temperance were the favourite virtues of this celebrated pontiff. He had cultivated them in the cell of a monastery; they did

not forsake him on his throne; and they deserve the place which the chisel of Canova has assigned them on his tomb. He proscribed the Jesuits with reluctance, not from any affection which he bore them, but from personal apprehension of their vengeance. According to the able historian from whom we have taken the sketch of his character, this solitary weakness hastened him to the grave. After the act of suppression, he was haunted by perpetual fear of poison; his frame sank under the horrors of a diseased imagination, and he died of the effects of terror acting upon a constitution already enfeebled by study and application to business. (A. D. 1774.) He was himself persuaded that he had been poisoned by the Jesuits; the death of Louis XV., which happened in the same year, was also imputed to them by popular hatred, and the Catholic princes everywhere proscribed them. Two non-Catholic sovereigns, Frederic the Great and Catharine of Russia, were the only ones who offered asylum and protection to the society in their dominions. It is notorious, however, that Louis XV. died of the small-pox, and the charge against the Jesuits of having poisoned Ganganelli, was contradicted by the report of his physicians, and seems to have been wholly groundless.*

The Genoese, by their exorbitant treatment of the people of Corsica, had driven them to revolt. Headed by popular leaders, the Corsicans drove their oppressors from the island, and the Genoese had recourse for aid to the Emperor Charles VI. (A. D. 1730.) The Austrians filled Corsica with flames and bloodshed, but they failed to subdue the stubborn courage of the islanders. The Emperor recalled them, but the Genoese continued, by arms, by negotiations, and by perfidy, to recover their authority. The islanders became more and more exasperated, and the struggle proceeded for many years, until the celebrated Pascal Paoli appeared at the head of his countrymen. He wanted neither courage nor enlightened views to qualify him for his arduous situation. Genoa received aid from France, and afterwards convinced of the hopelessness of recovering the dominion of their revolted colony, ceded their claims of sovereignty to Louis XV. The French monarch accepted the acquisition as an indemnity for immense sums which he had lent to the Genoese, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Corsica. Paoli fought like a hero against this usurpation, and Louis was obliged to expend much of the blood and treasure of his subjects in maintaining it. At the end of two campaigns his troops were driven into the maritime fortresses. But the French were determined to reduce the island, and the debarkation of a powerful army decided the contest. The timid, the wavering, and the disaffected deserted the cause of their country, the Corsicans generally took the oath of allegiance, and when the superiority of his enemies rendered resistance impossible, Paoli retired to England, followed by the admiration of Europe.

Choiseul, finding his influence with Louis XV. declining, sought to strengthen it by effecting a marriage between the king's grandson and heir and Marie Antoinette, daughter of the empress-dowager of Germany. An accidental

* Procter. De Bonnechese.

but great destruction of life which happened at the time of the nuptials in Paris, caused the union to be regarded as ill-omened. The minister, however, by involving the king in the quarrels with the parliaments, brought about his own disgrace, and the administration was given to the Duke d'Aiguillon. The king consented to abandon the new forms of jurisdiction which were proposed, and to allow the old courts to resume their functions. This change in the councils was unfortunate and dishonourable. It was well known that the Duke de Choiseul owed his disgrace to the intrigues of Madame du Barri, the king's profligate mistress, and whatever may have been his faults, he certainly would never have permitted the influence of his country to sink so low as it did during the administration of his successor.



CATHARINE II.

While France was thus declining, the empire of Russia was rapidly acquiring a preponderating influence in Eastern Europe. The Empress Catharine procured the throne of Poland for one of her favourites, Stanislaus Poniatowski, under the title of Stanislaus Augustus, (A. D. 1765,) having sent a Russian army to overawe the diet when it assembled to choose a sovereign. From this interference of Russia in the election of a Polish king began the sufferings of Poland, the greatest, the boldest, and the most terrible violation of the law of nations and the most sacred rights of man, the more revolting from the abuse of the forms of jus-

tice and the words of peace. Poland had been agitated by discords between the *dissidents*, who were in part Protestants, in part Greek churchmen, and the Roman Catholics. The former availed themselves of the influence of Russia, on the ground that they had lost since the death of Sigismund II. their ancient rights, and had been deprived by the diets of 1717 and 1733 of the free exercise of their religion. Catharine II. readily exerted herself in their behalf, and caused them to be reinstated in their religious liberty.

Religious zeal, national hatred, and party spirit disturbed the peace of the kingdom, the malcontents formed a confederacy in Podolia, and a furious war broke out, in which, after great desolation, the confederates succumbed to the power of the Russians and the king. They fled into the Turkish territory, which was also ravaged by fire and sword. War between the Porte and the Empress was the natural consequence, and hostilities continued for six years, exhibiting unsuccessful valour on the part of the Turks, and formidable power and persevering boldness on that of Russia. (1768—1774.) During its con-

tinuance, Stanislaus was forced to join with Catharine against the Turks, although he knew that the sultan, Mustapha III., had taken up arms chiefly to defend the independence of Poland. But the German Emperor, Joseph, began to dread the ambition of Russia, and his mother, Maria Theresa, made overtures of friendship to her old rival, Frederic, as a counterpoise to the increasing power of the Czarina.

Denmark and Sweden, had they been able to withdraw their attention from their internal affairs, would have adopted a similar course of policy. In Denmark, however, the jealousy of his stepmother caused the dethronement of King Christian V., a prince of weak intellect and dissipated habits. He had married Caroline Matilda, a sister of the Queen of England, and that princess, with the aid of Struensee, an adventurer whom she had caused to be made prime-minister, maintained an ascendancy over the mind of her husband. Her influence caused jealousy in the breast of the queen-dowager, who had Struensee and his friend Brandt arrested and put to a cruel death, drove the queen Caroline to Hanover, and usurped the supreme authority. The court of Denmark, under her administration, was remarkable for its subserviency to that of St. Petersburg.* Gustavus III. had ascended the Swedish throne on the death of his father, Adolphus Frederic, in 1771. By his vigour and sagacity, he effected a bloodless revolution, which changed Sweden from one of the most limited to one of the most absolute monarchies of Europe. Dread of a counter-revolution, and the necessity of providing some remedy for the distress which prevailed in Sweden, prevented Gustavus from interfering in the affairs of Poland.*

Meanwhile the disorder in Poland had reached its height; the intestine rage of parties was associated with the terror of the Russian and Turkish arms. Stanislaus wished to confer tranquillity and good government on his kingdom, but he could do nothing. He was rather himself exposed to the rage of his enemies. He was seized in Warsaw itself by a band of conspirators, and carried off, November 3, 1771; his deliverance seemed almost a miracle. At the same time Austria took possession of some districts of Poland bordering on Hungary, on account of some pretensions that had no connection with present relations.

These occurrences suggested either to Frederic or to Catharine, perhaps to both, a scheme for accommodating the threatened contest between the rival powers, by dismembering Poland. The first threads of the web of policy in which Poland was involved to its ruin, are unknown. Neither Frederic nor Catharine needed to be instructed how to plunder the defenceless, and neither of them attempted to palliate or disavow their violence. But Austria has sought to escape reproach by adducing, as an apology, the constraint which she had experienced from the two other powers, and the impossibility of preventing the division which was resolved upon otherwise than by a difficult war. Neither Joseph nor his minister, Prince Kaunitz, however, ever having in view the

* Taylor.
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elevation of the Austrian power, needed these grounds to make them accede. While the negotiations about the division were going on, the troops of Austria and Prussia occupied the countries best situated for them, the former "in order to protect those parts of Poland which are connected by the ties of friendship with Hungary on account of ancient relations, from the political storms of the present time," the latter "in order to establish a cordon for the protection of the Prussian dominions against the plague, which was raging in Poland." This occupation was accompanied by many brutal acts on the part of the Prussians, while the troops of Catharine conducted with the same ferocity in the provinces which they invaded. The Austrians maintained some discipline, the humanity of the Empress and the policy of the Emperor combining to prevent devastation.

The three powers quickly came to an agreement about their respective shares in the plunder. In conformity to a convention signed between them at Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1772, all three powers issued manifestoes, in which they demanded of the King of Poland the cession of certain territories, and designated changes in the interior of the kingdom. Stanislaus resolutely refused, and the grief and indignation of the people produced an energetic expression of opposition at the diet. But the menace of the powers to divide all Poland if their demands were refused, dispirited the resisting, and the king and diet were forced to subscribe to the hard law of the robbers. The cessions altogether amounted to the third part of Poland, and embraced nearly one half its population. The diet was not only obliged to cede these territories, but also to promise to protect the three powers in the possession of them. The constitution of the state also underwent changes according to the despotic order of the foreign potentates. A permanent council of state was established, which was chosen by the nobility, and which was so fettered as to insure its servile devotion to the three powers. The unhappy Stanislaus, reproached for calamities he could not avert, retorted on his accusers, attributing the national misfortunes to the bigotry, the factious spirit, and the incessant contentions of the turbulent nobles.

Since the accession of the Brunswick family to the throne of England in 1715, the government had been chiefly conducted by the Whig party. Walpole, Pelham, Newcastle, and Pitt had all ruled through the support of this great body, who, till a considerable time after the rebellion of 1745, seem to have had the support of the more influential portion of the people. After that period, however, a division appears to have grown up between the government and the people, which broke out in a violent manner under the administration of the Earl of Bute, prime-minister and favourite of George III. That nobleman was driven from the ministry by a storm of abuse raised by his enemies in parliament and through the newspapers, among the people. (April, 1763.) George Grenville succeeded Bute, and commenced his career by prosecuting John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury and editor of a paper called the *North Briton*, for a libel contained in the forty-fifth number of his paper, in which he had directly accused the king of falsehood. The king's messenger

arrested him on a general warrant against the editor, printers and publishers of the North Briton, and he was committed to the Tower; but Chief Justice Pratt first released him on the ground that he was a member of parliament, and afterwards decided that general warrants were inconsistent with the laws of England. Wilkes prosecuted the secretary of state for illegal seizure, and the trial terminated in a verdict of damages. The administration of Grenville is also remarkable for the passage of the celebrated Stamp Act, which gave the first great impetus to the struggle for independence of the colonies in North America. A succeeding Whig administration repealed the stamp act, but was speedily displaced by a third ministry, in which William Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham, held a conspicuous place. This ministry passed a bill for a duty on teas, glass, and colours imported into the colonies, which also the Americans spiritedly resisted. (A. D. 1767.)



JOHN WILKES.

In 1768, a new administration was formed under the Duke of Grafton, one of Pitt's pupils. A new parliament being soon after called, Wilkes, who had seen fit to retire to the continent, reappeared in England, though a sentence of outlawry still stood against him. He ventured to become a candidate for Middlesex, where he was returned to parliament by a large majority. Having previously surrendered to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, his outlawry was reversed, but he was sentenced to a fine and two years' imprisonment. He himself made no resistance to the execution of this sentence, but the populace forcibly rescued him from the hands of the officers

who had arrested him, and a riot ensued, in which an innocent young man was killed. During his imprisonment, Wilkes was formally expelled the House of Commons, on the pretext that he was disqualified from holding any office by the vote of censure passed by a preceding parliament. This decision created much indignation among all classes of the people, who identified Wilkes with their liberty. The county of Middlesex returned Mr. Wilkes four times, but the House accepted the rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, notwithstanding he had but one-fourth of the votes. The popularity of the cause of Wilkes was so great as to produce constant tumults, the cry of Wilkes and Liberty resounded on every hand, the municipal bodies and corporations remonstrated with the king on the high hand with which his business was conducted, and the agitation was still further increased by the publication of a series of letters, written in a forcible and elegant style, by an unknown author who styled himself Junius, and who animadverted in the most virulent manner on both the men and the measures of government.

The administration of the Duke of Grafton was succeeded in 1770 by that of Lord North, the first that was wholly composed of Tories. From this time until the close of the reign of George IV., the affairs of state were almost

exclusively in the hands of the Tory party. The agitation which had been excited in the public mind by the supposed injury to the cause of free elections, subsided when the king and his cabinet adopted the resolution to wear out the public fervour by dignified silence, taking no notice of the attacks and remonstrances addressed to them. Lord North was induced by the complaints of the Americans to make many concessions to them, and finally removed all the taxes except that on tea; but the principle of the right to impose taxes lurked under his concessions, and this it was, and not the taxes themselves, of which they complained. The British government now framed several obnoxious statutes, which imbibittered the colonists and led them to open resistance. Force was resorted to by the ministry to compel them to their allegiance, and the war of independence was begun. The details of that war will be found in a subsequent chapter. It is enough here to observe that at the end of seven years, notwithstanding every disadvantage and many defeats, America was triumphant, and her three millions of people were acknowledged as free men by the parent state. During the war, France, Spain, and Holland gave their aid to the Americans against the British, and Russia put herself at the head of what was called an Armed Neutrality, which embraced Denmark, Sweden, Venice, and Portugal, and the policy of which was adopted by the courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Naples. In the year 1779, so great was the force with which Great Britain had to contend, that it required about three hundred thousand armed men, three hundred armed vessels, and twenty millions of pounds annually, merely to protect herself from her enemies. Her naval superiority seemed to have deserted her, and for some time the people beheld the unwonted spectacle of a hostile fleet riding in the channel, which there was no adequate means of opposing. In India also the British power was forced to bend before the arms of the native chieftain, Hyder Ali, and the humiliating treaty which was concluded with his son Tippoo greatly diminished the influence heretofore possessed by the English name in the East.

Lord North was unwilling to put an end to the war, but in 1782 he found that he had no longer a majority in parliament. He therefore resigned, and a new administration was formed from the Opposition. The new ministers lost no time in taking measures for the restoration of peace, while they vigorously continued the war. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham, however, dissolved the cabinet, and while the delay which the formation of a new ministry under the Earl of Shelburne occasioned, protracted the negotiations for peace, two signal triumphs shed lustre on the arms of Britain. Admiral Rodney gained a decisive victory over the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, between the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Spaniards had fought with unexpected power. In America they conquered the English fortresses on the Mississippi, as well as Pensacola and all Florida. (1782.) In Europe they succeeded in conquering Minorca. But all their efforts against Gibraltar, which the British had held ever since they conquered it in 1704, during the war of the Spanish succession, were fruitless. The valiant commandant, Elliot, repulsed gloriously all the attacks of the combined Spanish and French forces.

At this time he immortalized himself especially, destroying by showers of red-hot balls the floating batteries which the Bourbons had fitted out against him at great expense, and with so strong hope that they believed them invincible.

These triumphs in some measure retrieved the national honour, and enabled the British ministers to conclude the war upon tolerable terms. The respect entertained for the English name on the continent had been diminished less by the reverses which attended her arms than by the famous anti-popery riots. In the year 1778, an act had been passed relieving the Roman Catholics in England from some of the severe penal statutes formerly enacted against them. The apprehension of a similar act for Scotland caused the people of that country to form an immense number of associations for the purpose of opposing it and protecting the Protestant religion. The ignorant fanatics who established these institutions stimulated the passions of the mob, and roused immense multitudes to acts of outrage. Several alarming riots occurred in the early part of 1779 at Edinburgh and Glasgow, during which one or two Catholic chapels, and some houses belonging to Catholics, were pillaged and burnt.

In England an extensive Protestant association was also formed in order to procure the repeal of the English act; a body which was chiefly led by Lord George Gordon, a son of the late Duke of Gordon and member of the House of Commons. In June, 1780, an immense mob assembled to escort Lord George to the House of Commons, where he was to present a petition against the act signed by 120,000 persons. His motion for the repeal of the act being rejected by a vast majority, he came out and addressed the crowd in the most violent language, suggesting to them outrages similar to those which had occurred in Scotland. Terrific riots ensued; during five days the mob had uncontrolled possession of the streets, prisons were broken open, and the Catholic chapels in the metropolis as well as various dwelling-houses were destroyed. The king in council determined to authorize the military to put them down by force of arms, and after four hundred were killed and wounded, tranquillity was restored. Many of the ringleaders were convicted and executed; Lord George Gordon was tried for high-treason, and acquitted on a plea of insanity, which his subsequent life showed to be well founded. The king gained credit for the firmness he had shown in suppressing the outrages, but they alienated the court of Madrid when it was disposed to negotiate, and added Spain to the number of England's enemies.

In Germany, after the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph II. strove to effect great changes, to transform ancient into modern institutions, and to devote the great and predominating power which he possessed towards remodelling the entire condition of his states. He would probably have engaged in the prosecution of these schemes before the death of his mother, but for the short and unimportant war of the Bavarian succession, a contest between Prussia and Austria, in which Frederic arrayed himself against the Emperor on account of the seizure of two-thirds of Bavaria, at the time of the Elector Maximilian's death. This war being ended in 1779, and Maria Theresa having died in 1780, Joseph was at liberty to bring into execution his great plans. He desired

to give to the various nations under his sway one unique and equal form of government, after a model of his own. But he undertook to effect what was often altogether unsuited to the genius of his subjects, and encroached upon their dearest privileges. The greatest obstacles thrown in the way of his innovations, however, proceeded from the church, owing to his object of confiscating numerous monasteries, and changing the ecclesiastical constitution. The princes of the empire, too, found themselves attacked in their rights, and did not hesitate to complain loudly; and when in 1785 Joseph negotiated a treaty for an exchange of territory with the electoral prince palatine of Bavaria, by which the whole south of Germany would have come into the possession of Austria, Frederic the Great and the Empress Catharine stepped forward and disconcerted their plans. Frederic then established an alliance of the German princes for the preservation of the imperial constitution. This league was formed in 1785 between Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, the Dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and Deux-Ponts, the Landgrave of Hesse, and several other princes, and they were soon joined by the Elector of Mentz. The alliance, however, produced few important results, owing to the death of the King of Prussia, which happened in Potsdam, August 17, 1786. He continued active and enterprising to the last, in spite of his advanced age, but his condition gradually became more and more isolated, being without a family and having seen all his companions sink before him into the tomb. His mind retained all its power during seventy-four years, though his body was reduced and enfeebled. He left to his successor a well-regulated state, containing a population of six millions of inhabitants; a powerful, strictly-organized army, and a treasury well provided. The greatest treasure he left, however, was the recollection of his heroic and glorious acts, which will long continue to operate upon his nation with awakening power and heart-stirring influence.*

The disadvantageous peace made in 1774 between Russia and the Porte, put a stop to the war for a time, but their arms were scarcely laid aside before the clouds of new hostilities began to gather. The ambitious Joseph concluded an alliance with Catharine, and the cabinets of Austria and Russia united in pressing the Porte with harder demands. An internal revolution in the Crimea gave the Empress Catharine an opportunity of seizing upon that country, which she immediately embraced. The Turks took up arms, the forces of Austria and Russia marched to the frontiers, but the plague broke out in Turkey, and the mediation of France brought about new treaties, whereby Catharine was secured in her unjust acquisitions. (A. D. 1784.) New provocations, however, still kept hatred alive, and finally kindled open war. Considering a contest inevitable, the Turks determined to get the start of the Empress, and surprised her by declaring war, though they were ill-prepared themselves. The campaigns of 1777 and 1778 passed without remarkable results. The Porte urged Austria to remain neutral, but Joseph, dreaming of brilliant conquests, remembered only his former alliance with Catharine. The war, how-

* Kohlrausch.



CATHERINE II AND HER COUNCIL OF STATE.

ever, did not produce the results he had anticipated. His fine army suffered considerable losses, both from the Turks, who fought with unexpected courage, and from sickness, and although the Emperor commanded in person, his troops effected nothing, for he was wholly destitute of firmness and presence of mind, the first qualifications for a successful general. He became ill and returned to Vienna, leaving the command of his forces to Laudon, under whose direction affairs were somewhat improved. The Austrians gained several victories, took Belgrade, Turkish Gradiska and Orsova, and conquered parts of Servia and Wallachia.

At the same time victory crowned the Russian arms. They reduced, in 1789, Gallacz, Ackierman, and Bender, and, in the following year, Kilianova and Ismail. The latter fortress was stormed and taken by the able and cruel Russian general, Suwarrow. Prussia, Great Britain, and Holland early manifested their apprehension at the success of the arms of the two empires; but Sweden concluded a treaty of subsidies with the Porte, and, calculating upon a division of forces, boldly attacked her colossal neighbour. Prussia also concluded an alliance with the Porte, and her armies began to make hostile movements. Austria therefore expressed her willingness to put an end to the war, and, after much delay, a treaty was concluded at Szistowe, August 4, 1791, by which the Emperor obtained Old Orsova and a considerable portion of the neighbouring territory, and the Porte received back Belgrade and the other Austrian conquests.

The mighty Catharine II. disdained to receive the law of the powers who interposed their unwelcome mediation. She released herself from her difficulties with Sweden by an equitable peace, August, 1790, and continued the bloody war against the Porte with her usual vigour. With all the weakness of her sex, and with a love of pleasure carried to licentiousness, she combined the firmness and talent of a powerful sovereign. Two passions were predominant with her until her death, love and ambition. She was never without her favourite, who, by the manner in which she distinguished him, and by the valuable presents she gave him, was publicly designated as such. She never, however, lost sight of her dignity. She was distinguished for activity, never absent from her cabinet, and never an uninterested listener when there. She was always willing to bear too great a share rather than to neglect any portion of the responsibilities of her government. She wrote a philosophical letter to Voltaire, worked with her ministers, and signed an order to attack the Turks or to occupy Poland, in the same hour. She favoured distinguished authors, particularly those of France, at whose metropolis she had a literary agent. By her attentions to Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, and others, she gained the favour of the literati of Europe, who called her the greatest of rulers, a title to which she was not without claims. She protected commerce, improved the laws, dug canals, and founded towns, hospitals, and colleges. Pallas and others travelled at her expense. She endeavoured to put a stop to the abuses which had crept into the different departments of the government, but was unable to complete her reforms. Civilization advanced slowly in Russia under

her reign, and her anxiety to enlighten her subjects ceased when she began to entertain the idea that the French Revolution had been caused by the progress of enlightenment.*

According to her own dictation, she made peace with the Turks at Jassy, January 9, 1792, gaining Oczakow with its territory, and obtaining the Dneister for her boundary. Thus all the wars undertaken against Russia had been so turned by the able management of Catharine as continually to augment the political preponderance of Russia. Her influence in Poland was equal to absolute dominion. When that republic in 1791 wished with the concurrence of Prussia to change its constitution, Catharine took part with the opponents, and concluded a confederation against the form of government adopted by the diet. Prussia abandoned the unfortunate Poles, and in 1793 consented to another partition, by which Russia received 96,500 square miles and 3,000,000 inhabitants, and Prussia 22,500 square miles and 1,136,000 inhabitants. The members of the diet were compelled by the fear of Russian bayonets to acquiesce in this new dismemberment of their country, and the remnant of Poland was placed under the guardianship of Russia. There were patriots in the oppressed country, however, who determined not to give up their national independence without a struggle. These formed a confederacy at Cracow, in March, 1794, and, led on by Kosciusko in the holy contest, they liberated Warsaw and Wilna. The battle of Raclawice, April 4, 1794, and the relief of Warsaw, which was besieged by a Prussian army, September 5th and 6th, 1794, are the most glorious days in the history of Poland. But it was now too late; Poland, if saved at all, could only be rescued by the sword of Kosciusko. His fall decided the fate of his country. He was overpowered at Macziewice, October 10, defeated, wounded, and taken prisoner by the Russians; Praga was stormed by the cruel Suwarrow, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. Without fortresses, discipline, allies, or arms, surrounded by enemies, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the convulsive efforts of national despair were unavailing. In October, 1795, the whole country was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria; the last king was taken to St. Petersburg, where he was allowed a pension until his death in 1798, and the Poles retained nothing but wounded feelings of national pride, a bitter hatred of Russians and Germans, and the unaiding pity and cold sympathy of the world.

During these occurrences, Catharine could not pay much attention to the troubles of the French. She broke off all connection, however, with the French republic, and actively assisted the emigrants and exiles from that country. She also made war upon Persia, and appears to have entertained the project of destroying the English power in Asia, when death put an end to her reign, November 9, 1796.

Her old ally, Joseph II., had died before the close of the Turkish war. On his return in bad health from his campaign against the Turks, he found his attention drawn to Hungary by a general rebellion in that country, where his

* Encyc. Americana. Tooke's Life of Catharine II.

measures for the amelioration of the people had been misrepresented and abused. Finding his efforts at reform unsuccessful, he issued from his death-bed an edict, re-establishing the constitution of the kingdom and the administration of justice on the same footing as at the death of Maria Theresa, with but two exceptions, which prove conclusively the noble, philanthropic spirit which actuated him. These were an edict requiring religious tolerance, and another restricting the rights of lords over their serfs and tenants. This act tranquillized Hungary, but a more serious rebellion broke out in the Netherlands; the Belgians aimed at independence, drove out all the Austrian governors, and formed a new constitution. Joseph attempted to reduce them to allegiance, but, worn out with mental and bodily anguish, he breathed his last on the 21st of February, 1790, leaving to his brother, Leopold II., his hereditary states. This prince was soon after chosen to succeed Joseph in the imperial dignity also, and though dissatisfaction, contention, and sedition everywhere abounded, he succeeded by his happy disposition in adopting measures so moderate and conciliatory, as to enable him to steer the vessel of state safely through the tempest. He abolished such of the innovations of Joseph as had proved dangerous, pacified Hungary, tranquillized the Netherlands, and ended the war with the Turks. He died, however, on the 1st of March, 1792, ending his short reign of two years at the moment of the commencement of a new and eventful era in the history of Europe, an era of intrigue, anarchy, and outrage, the events of which we come next to trace.



ENGLISH COSTUMES OF THE TIMES OF QUEEN ANNE, GEORGE I AND GEORGE II.



CHAPTER XIV.

The French Revolution.



THE exertions which Louis XIV. made to encourage a taste for literature among all classes of the French people, and to cause a general diffusion of knowledge, have justly been classed among the causes of the Revolution. He thereby made the French a thinking people, and gave to intellect an impulse which went on increasing, now quietly and slowly, and again with greater rapidity and show. In the days of the Grand Monarch himself, many spirited writers had begun to enlighten the people. Then came Montesquieu, whose able work "On the Spirit of Laws," not

well understood or appreciated by his contemporaries, was nevertheless valuable for a future generation as a magazine of true political wisdom, and well-examined principles of liberty. Soon after him appeared the schools of Encyclopedists and Economists, both composed of men of genius and adroitness, who, in one case, combated all errors and prejudices, and sometimes wholesome truths, with all the powers of reason, and, in the other, with noble enthusiasm for public good, were the decided enemies of all injustice and tyranny. They were both, however, influenced by the spirit of system, and were often more fanciful, more brilliant than profound. These societies taught

the nation to judge boldly upon both ecclesiastical and political affairs, and to long for civil as well as religious freedom.

Singularly blind to the consequences of these expositions of right and wrong, these free discussions on political subjects, the constituted authorities made no effort to curb inquiries which, general in terms or made with reference to other states, appeared to have no bearing on the tranquillity of the kingdom. They felt secure in the support of the nobles and the army, and though they would have rewarded the author of a direct attack on the monarchy with a place in the Bastile, they took no alarm from general disquisitions; the young nobility not unfrequently taking part in the discussions. The supreme powers deemed themselves above danger, and slept, securely dreaming of the tranquillity of the state, while the people were awaking to active thought on the social contract, on the manners and spirit of nations, on the causes of the evils under which they had so long groaned, and on the nature of the remedy.

It was the fashion of the day, even in court circles, to praise the worth and genius of the writings of two men whose powers were wholly given to inflame and pervert the public mind—Voltaire and Rousseau. Heartless, unprincipled, shrewd, and cunning, Voltaire was in all respects fitted for this task. Possessing a universal acquaintance with society, unbounded wit, a manner of reasoning which was marked by brilliancy without depth, he better than any other could denounce the priesthood for avarice and negligence, expose the vices of royalty and nobility, and arouse the people to redress the grievances which the ambition and the wars of their rulers had imposed upon them. It is to be regretted that his sublime and clear spirit wanted the higher consecration which is conferred by virtue alone, that his unrestrained intellect spurned the distinctions between truth and falsehood, and substituted sophistry for sense.

The great rival of Voltaire, Rousseau, the lewd and eccentric, equally contributed to hurry on the crisis. By his eloquence he turned the brains of the half of France, and his praise hung in the circles of the court, where he was regarded as the apostle of liberty. In politics he would bring about republicanism, in ethics he would introduce universal license into society, subverting the established bases of order, substituting the cant of instinct and sensibility for a religious faith grounded on the convictions of reason.

It was not by their applause only that the higher classes aided these agents in the work of innovation; their vices furnished food for sarcasm and declamation. The corruptions of the licentious judiciary served to excite popular indignation, and the enormous salaries paid to crown officers who performed no duties contrasted badly with the miserable subsistence obtained by the labouring poor. The peasantry, living in dark, comfortless, unfurnished houses, clothed in rags, and often destitute of food, were the victims besides of the pleasures of the nobility. Destructive game was permitted to roam at large, the preservation of the objects of the chase was made to interfere with the most necessary operations of husbandry, the ordinary transactions of busi-



LOUIS XVI.

ness were taxed, the roads were repaired by compulsory services, and the starving people groaned under the pressure of unequalled feudal severity.*

The distinctions of caste were rigidly maintained by the clergy; plebeians, however talented, were rigidly excluded from all dignities, a circumstance which insured the co-operation of the humbler clergy in the commencement of the revolution. No better order pervaded the affairs of the army, and the masses of the military establishment of the country were almost ripe for defection when the commencement of the war for American independence was announced. The enthusiasm which had been inspired by the writings of the "apostles of liberty," was immediately merged into sympathy for those who were shedding their blood for freedom; the youth of the country burned to wash out the stains left upon the escutcheon of France at the peace of 1763. Lafayette set the example, and it was followed by many Frenchmen of distinguished families. The king too committed a great mistake in supporting the Americans; the troops he sent to their aid, mixing with the independent freemen of our country, imbibed their principles; in that immortal contest they learned patriotic lessons which, on their return to France, they hastened to impart to their countrymen.

Louis XVI. ascended the throne on the 11th of May, 1774, at the age of twenty. He was characterized by purity of manners and generous intentions, but wanted resolution and perseverance. He found the finances disordered,

* Shoberl.

the authority of the crown despised, the people impatient of abuses and clamorous for an extension of their privileges, and the classes already privileged determinedly opposed to reform. By selecting as his adviser the aged Maurepas, Louis only added to the difficulties of his position, for the minister was not on good terms with the queen, who was a young, lively, and amiable Austrian princess, and who possessed a complete ascendancy over her husband. Already the king commenced vacillating, giving way now to Maurepas and again to the queen. The minister recalled the old parliaments, but failed to make them subservient to purposes of useful reform. The public voice greatly applauded Turgot; and Maurepas admitted him to the council, and placed the finances under his control. In the following year, the council was opened to Malesherbes, who seconded Turgot in his operations, and to whom was confided the charge of all *lettres de cachet*, or mandates issued for the apprehension of suspected individuals. Louis himself had made some reforms when he ascended the throne, and Turgot resolved to proceed further in the good work. He sought the happiness of the people, and devoted himself to the suppression of servitude and of exclusive privileges. Malesherbes said of him that he had the head of Bacon and the heart of L'Hopital. He determined to make the nobles contribute to the taxes in the same proportion as the *tiers état*, the third branch or commonalty of the French estates, and sought by means of provincial assemblies to accustom the nation to the discussion of the public interests, and prepare it for the return of the states-general. He combined with the aid of Malesherbes a system of administration that would have restored unanimity to France, by the destruction of all abuses; and promulgated, in this spirit, edicts which replaced the forced services performed by the peasant or tenant on the highways by a contribution equally levied upon all; proclaimed a free trade in grain, and abolished commercial wardenships and corporations. The privileged bodies at once broke out into murmurs and complaints; the parliaments refused to register these wise edicts, and a Bed of Justice became necessary to compel them. The philosophers and economists however triumphed; but a powerful league was formed at court, under the auspices of the queen, against the reforming ministers. Maurepas, jealous of the popularity of Turgot and his ascendancy over the king, entered into the league, and alarmed the king by representations of the dangerous tendency of the new system. Malesherbes noticing a revolution at work in the mind of the monarch, resigned, but the brave Turgot resolutely awaited his disgrace. Louis had said of him, "Turgot and I are the only ones who truly love the people," yet he dismissed him. Clugny, and after him Taboureaux, replaced in turn that great minister, with equal ill-success.

In 1777, the finances fell under the control of Necker, a Genoese banker, a man of strict integrity and high capacity. He took probity and good faith for the basis of his system, and so high was the opinion formed of him by the capitalists, that he possessed the entire confidence of those who could lend money to the government. He put the country in a condition to support the war in which the king engaged in support of the Americans, a war which

exercised a great influence on the destinies of France by accelerating the intellectual movement, and advancing the progress of liberal ideas. During this war the majority of the French ministry was composed of men remarkable for their worth and talents; M. de Vergennes made the nation respected abroad, De Segur and De Castries pushed the war with great activity, and the great genius of Necker furnished the means of carrying it on. The budget of this minister, produced in the month of January, 1781, exhibited for the first time an excess of ten millions in the receipts over the expenditure. It created a profound sensation, and the public hailed it with a degree of approbation that inspired old Maurepas with jealousy. He found himself forgotten in the chorus of praise offered to a minister whom he looked upon as his creature, and pointed out to the king a lurking danger in the public discussion of the acts of his government, excited by the financial statement of Necker. From that moment, all this statesman's plans were received with disfavour; the council opposed them, and the privileged classes struggled against his useful reforms. He still, however, by the sole authority of his own great name, contrived to complete two loans, amounting together to ninety millions. But he speedily felt that the confidence of the sovereign was withdrawn from him, and he gave in his resignation, which was accepted May 23, 1781. He left funds enough in the treasury to complete the decisive campaign of that year, and his retirement was mourned as a public calamity.*

The Dutch stadtholder had become a monarch in all but the name, and the success of the Americans in establishing an independent government induced many of the inhabitants of the Netherlands to aim at the restoration of their old republican constitution. The French, who were greatly indebted to the republican party, seconded their designs, but Frederic William of Prussia and the ambassadors of England resolved to support the Prince of Orange. An insult offered to the Princess of Orange, who was the sister of the King of Prussia, brought matters to a crisis, the French abandoned the republicans, and the stadtholder was restored to all his original authority.

The disordered state of the finances was the cause of this desertion of their party by the ministers of Louis; Maurepas had died shortly after the resignation of Necker, and the popular ministers were succeeded by ministerial courtiers. The system of the administration was changed, reforms were abandoned, and abuses and disorders revived. Joly de Fleury and D'Ormesson had in turn succeeded Necker, but the finances grew more and more disordered; and Calonne was called to direct them, by the unwise partiality of the queen. This brilliant and eloquent man, remarkable alike for levity of mind and daring of character, pursued a system directly the reverse of that of Necker. Having exhausted the expedient of loans, and finding the expenditure exceed the income by an enormous amount, the minister was obliged to resort to taxation; but the privileged classes refused all sacrifice, and the people were exhausted. Calonne therefore summoned an assembly of notables, A. D. 1787, hoping that

* Bonnechese.

such an assembly, chosen by government from among the upper classes, would prove more tractable than the parliaments or states-general. The assembly was composed of distinguished members of the nobility, clergy, and magistracy, the chief popular gentry and philosophers, a composition by means of which Calonne flattered himself he should be able to carry his point. He charged the embarrassment of the exchequer upon Necker, who brilliantly defended himself, and demonstrated the inadequacy of the proposed measures to remedy the decline of public credit. When it became known that in a few years the loans had amounted to one thousand six hundred and forty millions, and that there was a deficit in the revenue of one hundred and forty-six millions, there arose a universal outcry, and Calonne resigned his place and quitted the kingdom.

The king refused to reinstate Necker, but gave the charge of the state to Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, a man of weak character but not destitute of boldness. He had been the opponent of Calonne, but now adhered mainly to the measures of that minister. The notables proved very intractable, however, consenting to a few of the proposed measures and then separating. Deprived of their support, Brienne proposed a stamp duty and a tax of eighty millions. These edicts the parliaments refused to register; and though it had before assumed the right to sanction taxes, it now admitted that it had not the power to grant imposts, but that the states-general alone could establish them. The registration was, however, peremptorily commanded in a Bed of Justice held at Versailles; and in the same session the enjoyment of their ancient rights was restored to the Protestants; and Louis XVI. promised the annual publication of a financial statement, and the convocation of the states-general within five years. The magistrates, on their return to Paris, protested against the violence which had been done to them, and the edicts remained unexecuted. The parliament was exiled to Troyes on the 15th of August, but an apparent reconciliation was effected, and it was recalled in little more than a month. It was expected that they would give their assent to an edict authorizing the creation of gradual and successive taxes to the amount of four hundred and forty millions, which the premier proposed, and which the king, appearing at the session in person, demanded. But the parliament protested against it, the counsellors Freteau and Sabatier and the Duke of Orleans setting the example. They were exiled, but the parliament protested against *lettres de cachet* and demanded the recall of its members.

Under these circumstances Brienne determined to destroy the political authority of the magistracy; but his scheme was betrayed to the parliament before his preparations were completed, and read to the indignant magistrates. They demanded the regular convocation of the states-general, protested against arbitrary arrests, and asserted their own inviolability. Brienne immediately obtained the king's order for the arrest of D'Eprenail and Montsabert, two of the magistrates whose opposition was the most violent. On the 5th of May the captain of the guard presented himself before the parliament, and claimed them in the king's name. The members exclaimed, "We are all Montsaberts

and D'Eprenails;" but these two counsellors, to avoid compromising their colleagues, rose and avowed themselves. The tumult was at its height, the populace accompanying the magistrates and hailing them with shouts of applause. Three days afterwards the king in a Bed of Justice caused the edicts to be registered, abrogating entirely the constitution of the parliaments, restricting the jurisdiction and number of them, instituting sovereign courts of justice, instead of the suppressed parliaments, and transmitting, in fine, all the political rights exercised until then by these bodies, particularly that of registering the royal ordinances, to a plenary court, (*cour plénière*,) which was to consist of the princes of the blood, the peers, and a number of the first functionaries of state.

The public mind, however, was inflamed, the chatelet issued a decree against the edicts, the parliament of Rennes declared all who should belong to the plenary court infamous, sanguinary riots broke out in Dauphiny, Brittany, Provence, Flanders, Languedoc, and Bearn, and the provincial states and all orders of the kingdom declared against the minister. Annoyed by the higher orders, the court resolved to summon the *tiers état* to its aid, and then urged the convocation of the states-general. It ordered investigations respecting the mode of their assembling, it called upon writers and learned bodies to give their opinions, and whilst the assembled clergy declared that a speedy convocation was desirable, the court, accepting the challenge, suspended at the same time the meeting of the plenary court, and fixed the opening of the states-general for the 1st of May, 1789.

Brienne then retired from the ministry, leaving the exchequer in distress, the payment of the rentes of the Hotel de Ville suspended, all the authorities in hostility, all the provinces in arms. He retired to Rome, after advising the king to recall Necker to his councils. The advice was followed; Necker returned to the administration, and the people broke out into savage expressions of joy. Necker commanded the confidence of the public as before, and was able to raise sufficient funds to carry on the government until the meeting of the states-general. On the 27th of September the parliament registered the edict by which they were convoked, and decided that the same forms should be observed on the convocation which had been followed at their last meeting, in 1614. At this period the number of deputies was equal in each order. Their deliberations were separately conducted by individual vote in different chambers, in which the clergy, the nobles, and the *tiers état* respectively assembled. The three estates then met in common, to deliberate together and vote by their collective orders. The result of the votes so managed was always, of necessity, favourable to the privileged orders. But Necker designed to make the latter contribute to the expenses of the state in proportion to their fortunes; and to this end it was necessary that the number of the third estate should be doubled and the definitive resolutions taken by individual vote. The popular opinion was almost unanimously in favour of this change, and as the parliament had shown itself opposed to it by the vote of September 27, it lost much of the favour with which it had been regarded by the public. While the court

was thus revenged upon the parliament, it was in great doubt which side of the question to embrace. Meanwhile a multitude of pamphlets, among others one by the Abbé Sieyès, entitled "*What is the third estate?*" heightened the agitation of the public mind. At length the king convened the second assembly of notables, and submitted to them the question as to the convocation of the states-general. The majority of the notables voted that an equal number of representatives should be sent by the respective classes. Necker disputed this decision, and at his suggestion the king promulgated on the 27th of December a declaration called "*The Result of the Council*," in which it was decided that the deputies to the *tiers état* should equal in number the deputies of the two other orders combined, but left unsettled the mode of voting. From that day the Revolution commenced. The *tiers état* felt its own strength, reckoned reasonably on the defection of a portion of the nobles and clergy, and saw clearly that it would be master of the forms of deliberation.

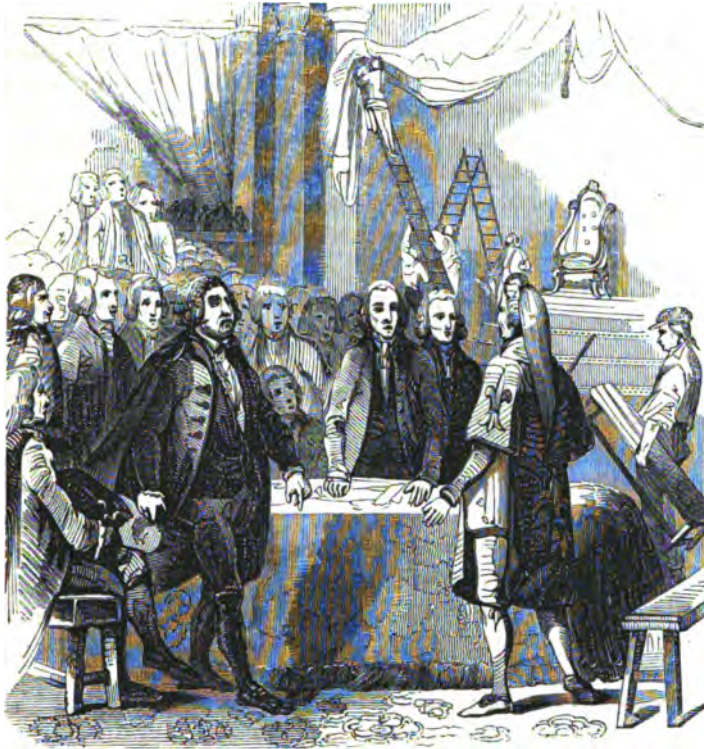
The philosophers of the age had chiefly contributed to this result. The most illustrious of them were dead, but their school still flourished, and, while labouring unceasingly at the destruction of abuses and privileges, it sapped the monument of ancient institutions. Literature, the sciences, the arts, the drama, all numbered many celebrated names; among them some of the greatest benefactors of humanity. The professors of literature, science, and philosophy were admitted to the society of the great; the great laboured to become adepts in all the walks of knowledge. At no period had the manners of the higher and enlightened classes been more refined. French politesse, so vaunted throughout Europe, then made the great charm of social life, and had attained a noble and graceful perfection. But, all this time, a gulf was forming, dug by the vices of the government and the deficit in the treasury, beneath the feet of that brilliant society. Behind it pressed a middle class, humiliated and discontented, whose voice was not loud enough to drown the deep murmur of a multitude stagnating in ignorance and misery. From that direction soon came the storm; a furious whirlwind shook the edifice already mined to its foundations; and the whole disappeared before the irresistible breath of the popular tempest.

On the 5th of May, 1789, the first day of the Revolution, the states-general assembled at Versailles, the three estates numbering respectively as follows:—the clergy 293, the nobles 270, and the commons 565, two more than the others united. The deputies were introduced and arranged according to the order established in the last convocation, in 1614. The clergy sat on the right, the nobles on the left, the commons in front of the throne. The entry of the popular leaders was followed by loud applause from a brilliant assembly of spectators in the galleries, Necker being particularly distinguished. Last of all the king came, and placed himself on the throne amid the loudest applause, whilst at the same time the three orders arose and covered themselves. In the olden time, the third estate remained uncovered, and spoke only on their knees; this first aspiring movement was ominous of the subsequent conduct of that body. But 1789 was not 1614; two centuries had intervened.

The first and most important question to be settled was whether the votes should be taken individually or by orders. In the latter case the deputies of the *tiers état* would lose the advantage which their number gave them. The court and the majority of the nobles and clergy attached the utmost importance to procuring a decision that the votes should be taken by orders on all political questions. But many popular dissentients were included among the nobility and the clergy. The portion inclined towards the opinions of the deputies of the third estate, displayed on the present occasion immovable patience and unshaken firmness. For nearly two months affairs stood in this position, the commons insisting that the three orders should sit and vote together, and the majority of the nobles and clergy resisting; all in the face of the mob of Paris and the people of France. The king and his council could not make up their minds upon the matter. The inner cabinet, in which the queen and the princes of the blood held sway, was for resisting the pretensions of the third estate, and, relying upon the army, would have dismissed the states-general as soon as they had granted a few taxes. Necker and the ostensible ministers were inclined to compromise with the *tiers état* while their power was not yet proved by experience, nor their pretensions raised by victory. The premier also informed Louis that he did not think the army could be relied on; and that he ought to make up his mind to reign hereafter under a constitution like that of England. Fierce disputes and endless consultations ensued, and though, three weeks after the opening of the legislature, Necker had obtained the assent of the king and queen to a declaration which would have been acceptable to the popular party, yet the influence of the royal consort was exerted to have its promulgation postponed, and a whole month was wasted in idle discussion.

Meanwhile nearly one half the nobles and clergy had joined the deputies of the commons, and the *tiers état*, by the advice of the Abbé Sieyès, constituted themselves, June 17, a National Assembly, an important resolution, which was immediately followed by acts of supremacy. They proclaimed the indivisibility of the legislative power, voted the provisional levy of taxes so long as they should be sitting, and their entire cessation in case they should be dissolved, consolidated the public debt, and appointed a committee of supply. They acquired by these acts an ascendancy which alarmed the minds of the dominant party of the court, under whose influence Louis announced his intention to hold a royal sitting, for the purpose of interposing his power, annulling the decrees of the assembly, and prescribing the reforms which should be undertaken by the states-general.

Under pretext of the preparations required for the occasion, the hall of the states was meantime closed. When, on the 20th of June, the commons presented themselves at the hall of its sittings, they found it closed. The designs of the court were no longer doubtful, and the indignant deputies resolved to thwart their execution. They repaired to the tennis court at Versailles, and there, despite of the will of the king and the dangers which menaced them, the deputies of the nation bound themselves to accomplish the reform by a solemn oath. By this the members bound themselves never to separate, and to meet



REPLY OF MIRABEAU TO THE MARQUIS DE BREZE.

wherever circumstances should require, until the constitution of the kingdom and the regeneration of the public order should be established and consolidated upon firm foundations. The modest and firm Bailly, president of the assembly, read the oath in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators; all arms were raised towards heaven, and the united deputies, in tones which were heard above the thundering applause of those around, responded, "We swear it." This step was followed by an important accession of strength. On the 22d, finding that the princes had hired the tennis court for the purpose of excluding them, they met in the church of St. Louis, where 148 of the clergy came to participate in their patriotic deeds and share their dangers. They were received with transports of joy by the commons, who thus acquired a decided preponderance.

The royal session was held on the 23d of June, Necker, full of fear and sorrow, excusing himself from being present. The king, who was surrounded by his guards, made some concessions, but announced his pleasure that the three estates should meet and vote in their separate chambers as they had done in 1614, and threatened them with vengeance if they resisted. The members of the nobility and clergy who were present obeyed as soon as the king had departed, but the commons retained their seats. The chancellor ordered the

deputies to withdraw to their separate chamber. Mirabeau rose and said, "Gentlemen, I admit the concessions made by the king would be sufficient for the public good if the presents of despotism were not always dangerous. What is the insolent dictatorship to which you are subjected? Is this display of arms, this violation of the national sanctuary the fitting accompaniment of a boon to the people? Who prescribes these rules? Your mandatory, he who should receive your commands instead of giving them to you. The liberty of deliberation is destroyed, a military force surrounds the Assembly. I propose that, proceeding with becoming dignity, you act up to your oath, and refuse to separate until you have completed the constitution." Then turning to the master of the ceremonies, the Marquis de Breze, who awaited the result of his command to the Assembly to leave the hall, he said, "Tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we will not be expelled but at the point of the bayonet." Then Sieyès, addressing his colleagues, coolly said, "You are to-day what you were yesterday. Let us enter upon our deliberations." The Assembly persisted in its resolutions; and on the motion of Mirabeau, added one asserting the inviolability of its members. The majority of the members of the clergy sat again in the assembly, on its next meeting, forty-seven of the nobility, including the Duke of Orleans, soon after imitated the example, and on the 27th of June the three orders united, the deliberations became general, the nobles and clergy were lost in the overwhelming majority of their opponents, and to say all in a word, the royal authority was lost.

The counsellors of Louis XVI. now persuaded him to have recourse to force; great numbers of troops were collected round Versailles, Necker was dismissed, and unpopular ministers appointed. The approach of the troops and the exile of Necker produced a fermentation in Paris; a young man zealous for freedom, Camille Desmoulins, harangued the populace; the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans were paraded through Paris; the colonel of the royal German corps attempted to charge the mob, but desisted when he found the French guards take the part of the people; and the tumult and disorder became universal. The barriers were fired and many houses pillaged, and the greatest evils were only averted by the firm, active, and prudent conduct of the electors. The National Assembly, having vainly attempted a reconciliation with the court party, took the direction of the government into its own possession, and declared itself permanent. The Archbishop of Vienne presided over it, and Lafayette was elected Vice-President.

The populace of Paris, inflamed by the hostile attitude of the court and the energetic proceedings of the Assembly, determined to pursue its advantages, and demanded arms. The committee of electors sitting at the Hotel de Ville organized the National Guard, which they increased to forty-eight thousand men, giving them the tri-coloured cockade, its colours being those of the arms of the city of Paris. Each district had its battalion. Fifty thousand pikes were forged, the arsenal of the Invalids was pillaged, and the universal cry of the populace was "To the Bastile!" The siege of that fortress was undertaken;



CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE.

and the French guards, coming with cannon to the aid of the people, decided its capture. (July 14, 1789.) The weak garrison laid down their arms, but the governor, Delaunay, and several of his soldiers were unable to escape from the fury of the multitude. They were put to death, and the populace returned in triumph to the Hotel de Ville, bearing the bloody trophies of their victory. A letter found on Delaunay involved M. de Flesselles, Mayor of Paris, in a charge of treason. The first impulse of the populace was to massacre him, but they subsequently ordered that he should be arraigned before them. He was

assassinated, however, by a pistol-shot. The popular effervescence was at its height; Paris prepared herself for a battle, and the entire city wore the aspect of one vast camp. The king, infatuated by the reports transmitted by his military commanders, and surrounded by an impetuous and inconsiderate nobility, saw in this movement of the metropolis nothing more than a mere riot. He proposed to dissolve the Assembly, and to restore tranquillity by causing the Marshal Broglie to move on the capital with an overwhelming military force. The firing of the cannon at the Bastille was distinctly heard by him at Versailles, and as he scorned the idea that the fortress could be captured, he regarded this attack upon it as a sign that the irresolution of the troops was at an end. But in the night intelligence was received at Versailles of the true state of affairs; that the Bastille was taken; Paris in insurrection; the Guards siding with the enemies of the court, and the regiments of the line sullen and inactive. The assembly, which had constantly sat for the two preceding days, was violently agitated by the news from Paris; it was proposed to send a deputation to the king to urge him to remove the troops from the city. "No," said Clermont Tonnerre, "let us leave them this night to take counsel; it is well that kings, like private men, should learn by experience." The Duke de Liancourt took upon himself the painful duty of acquainting the king with the events which had occurred, and proceeded in the middle of the night to his chamber for that purpose. "This is an insurrection," said the king after a long silence. "No, sire," replied the great citizen, "it is a revolution." The universal defection of the troops had rendered resistance hopeless; the firmness of Louis gave way before the gravity of circumstances, and he resolved upon submission. On the following morning he appeared in the midst of the Assembly, without guards or suite, accompanied only by his two brothers. He was received by the assembly with silence, with that profound silence which Mirabeau had affirmed to be a lesson for kings. His address was brief but forcible. At its conclusion he said, "I am now come alone into the midst of you; I declare myself for ever united with the nation, and, relying on the fidelity of the National Assembly, I have given orders to remove the troops from Versailles and Paris; and I invite you to make my dispositions known to the capital."

The Assembly now broke forth into acclamations, and, rising, conducted the king back to his palace. A deputation was sent to Paris and produced a calm there; Bailly was named mayor of the city, and Lafayette commander of the armed force. The king set out on the 17th to visit Paris, on whose affections his sole reliance was now placed. A large part of the National Assembly accompanied him on foot; the cortège was swelled on the road by an immense concourse of peasants, many of whom were armed with scythes and bludgeons, which gave it a grotesque and revolutionary appearance. He was received by Bailly and Lafayette. "Sire," said the former, as he presented to him the keys of the city, "I bring your majesty the same keys which were presented to Henry IV. That king conquered back his people; but here, the people have conquered back their king." Louis advanced to the Hotel de Ville

through the midst of above one hundred thousand armed men, under an arch formed of crossed sabres. The whole of the immense crowd bore tri-colour cockades, now assumed as the national colours. Few cries of *Vive la Roi* met the ears of the unfortunate monarch; those of *Vive la Nation* were much more numerous; but when he appeared at the window of the Hotel de Ville, with the tri-coloured cockade on his breast, thunders of applause rent the air, and he was reconducted to Versailles amidst the most tumultuous expressions of public attachment.*

The day of the king's entry into Paris was the first of the emigration of the nobility. The Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, and the Polignac family set the example of leaving France. It was followed by great numbers, and Louis remained without defence, without counsel in the roaring storm.

The National Assembly had now usurped the whole legislative power, and undertaken to draw up a new constitution. Their charter, which commenced with a Declaration of the Rights of Man, contained principles erroneous in themselves and subversive of all order. Such was the ardour of their revolutionary enthusiasm, that they abolished, without discussion and at one nocturnal sitting, the feudal regime, the rights and privileges of provinces and corporations, the tithes, and the greater part of the seigniorial prerogatives. It was decreed that the legislative power should be exercised by a single chamber, and that the king should abandon the absolute veto and confine himself to a merely suspensive one. The popular ferments had still continued in the capital. Necker had been recalled, and entered Paris in a kind of triumph, but with that event ended his career of fame. Believing himself master of a party who no longer looked on him as more than an instrument, he endeavoured to save Bezenval, the second in command of the troops, whom the people had made prisoner. The intendant Foulon and his nephew Berthier had already perished, victims to the popular fury; Bezenval was more deeply compromised than either of these; and Necker, by proposing an amnesty, sacrificed his popularity.

The question of the veto power of the king produced the utmost agitation in Paris. The assembly of electors who had assumed the functions of a provisional municipal, had been recently replaced. One hundred and eighty members, named by the different districts, had constituted themselves legislators and representatives of the whole body of citizens, whilst the committees of the sixty districts of Paris assumed to themselves likewise a legislative power, superior to that of their constituents. The rage for public discussion became general, and assemblies of every description were formed throughout the city. The most animated debates were carried on in the Palais Royal, whence the people controlled those of the National Assembly. The court party aimed at exhibiting Louis in the character of a distressed monarch, and wished him to take refuge in the midst of his army. But the king really loved his people,

* Bonnechose. Alison. Thiers.

and refused to comply with the suggestion. Troops were, however, collected around Versailles, some dragoons and the regiment of Flanders. A feast was given to the officers of the newly-arrived regiment by their comrades, in the theatre of the Chateau, which was usually reserved for great solemnities; and in the midst of this noisy assemblage suddenly appeared the king and queen, the latter carrying the dauphin in her arms. Their entrance was greeted with shouts of enthusiasm, white cockades were distributed, and the tri-coloured emblems trodden under foot.

Such was the celebrated banquet of the 1st of October, the news of which spread throughout Paris, and produced the most violent fermentation. The arrival of the regiments, their hostile demonstrations, the apprehension of plots against the people, and, more than all, a great scarcity of provisions, combined to occasion a fearful outbreak of the popular passions. The signal was given on the 5th of October by a young girl, who traversed the streets beating a drum and shouting "Bread! bread!" A crowd of women gathered around her, and the general cry was "To Versailles!" Maillard, one of the volunteers of the Bastille, placed himself at the head of this motley assemblage, continually swelled by the accession of furious multitudes, and offered to lead them thither. Lafayette kept them in check for seven hours, but they at length set out and reached Versailles, where their approach had already spread general consternation. Before Lafayette arrived there with the National Guard, an engagement had taken place between the populace and the *gardes du corps*, but his presence restored security; and tranquillity was re-established. Unfortunately he retired to rest. In the dead of the night some stragglers found one of the gratings of the chateau open; they aroused their companions and entered the royal abode. The alarm was speedily given, and a struggle took place between the populace and the guards on duty, many of whom fell at their posts, exclaiming, "Save the queen." Marie Antoinette, apprized of her danger, fled half-dressed to the apartment of the king, while the mob entered her room and pierced her bed with bayonets. Lafayette flew to the scene of action, and found that the Paris guard had already taken part with the *gardes du corps*. He succeeded in clearing the castle of the mob, exposing his own life to drive back the rioters from the royal apartments. The multitude demanded with loud cries that the king should make his appearance. He showed himself fearlessly to the multitude, and was respectfully received. The queen, who appears to have been the especial object of popular hatred, was also called, and she appeared at the window with her children. Twenty thousand voices exclaimed "Away with the children!" and the queen, sending them in, reappeared alone in the presence of a mob from whom she expected death. Such conduct was worthy of a daughter of Maria Theresa; her contempt of personal danger overcame the fury of the mob, and universal shouts of applause testified their sense of the reality of the peril she had braved.

The leaders of the tumult now resolved to derive some advantage from their success, by removing the king and royal family to Paris, where they would be entirely subjected to control. The cry was immediately raised



MARIE ANTOINETTE.

among the populace, "Let us bring the king to Paris! It is the only way of securing bread to our children." At the suggestion of Lafayette, Louis XVI. showed himself to the shouting crowd, and promised to do as they required. But the animosity against the queen again broke forth into shouts, and Lafayette led her out on the balcony and kissed her hand before them with deep respect. This act of their favourite assured the multitude, applause burst forth on every hand; the Assembly passed a resolution that it was inseparable from the king and would accompany him to the capital. At noon the royal party set out for Paris, escorted by the bleeding and dejected body-guards, and accompanied by a hideous and bloody procession. Louis was conducted to the Hotel de Ville, and thence to the Tuileries, which thenceforward became his palace and his prison.

The National Assembly followed him to Paris. Soon they decreed the spoliation of the clergy, by placing their benefices at the disposal of the nation. They ordered the division of France into eighty-three departments; the sale of the crown lands and ecclesiastical property; the issuing of *assignats* or bills, to serve as currency until actual money should be realized from the sale of the estates—to be a means of payment for the state and a pledge for the creditors; the admission of Jews to the right of citizens; the prohibition of monastic

vows; the right of a national assembly to declare war in consequence of a proposition from the king; a secular constitution, which rendered the clergy independent of the head of the church, and gave the people a right to nominate their bishops; and the abolition of the noblesse. (1790.) The king was to be the depositary and supreme head of the executive power, but he had been stripped of the means necessary to the effective exercise of authority. The assembly suffered him to retain his title of king, but divested him of his most necessary prerogatives. The court party resolved to procure the liberation of the king by carrying him off to Peronne. The Marquis of Favras took upon himself the execution of this enterprise; he made too much preparation and failed. The court of the chatelet condemned him to death. (June, 1791.)

The fourteenth of July, the anniversary of the nation's deliverance, approached, and preparations were made to celebrate it by a solemnity which should elevate the feelings of the citizens and bind them in closer bonds. The place chosen was the Champ de Mars. At seven in the morning of the appointed day, the assemblage of electors, of representatives of the communes, the presidents of the districts, the National Assembly, the Parisian Guard, the deputies of the army, and the federates of the departments, went in procession from the place of the Bastille. The presence of all the national bodies, the floating banners, the patriotic inscriptions, the varied costumes, the sounds of music, and the joy of the people, all combined to make the train an imposing one. The procession traversed the town and passed the Seine to the sound of a discharge of artillery, across a bridge of boats which had been thrown over in the evening. It entered the Champ de Mars through a triumphal arch, decorated with patriotic inscriptions. Each body, in perfect order and hailed with applause, placed itself in the appointed situation. The vast extent of the Champ de Mars was surrounded by steps of green turf rising one above another, occupied by four hundred thousand spectators; in the middle rose an altar, constructed after the manner of the ancients; around the altar, in a vast amphitheatre, were seen the king, his family, the assembly, and the municipality; the federates of the departments were placed in order under their banners; the deputies of the army were in their ranks and under their colours; the Bishop of Autun ascended the altar in pontifical robes; four hundred priests, clothed in white surplices with floating tri-coloured cinctures, were posted at the four corners of the altar. Mass was celebrated amidst the sound of military instruments. The Bishop of Autun then blessed the oriflamme and the eighty-three banners.

A profound silence now ensued in this vast enclosure, and Lafayette, as commandant of the National Guards, advanced first to take the civic oath. He was borne in the arms of grenadiers and amidst the acclamations of the people to the altar of the country; where, in a loud voice, in his own name and in the name of the troops and of the federates, he spoke as follows: "We swear to be ever faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; and to maintain with all our power the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king; and to remain united to all Frenchmen by indisso-

luble ties of fraternity." Discharges of artillery, shouts of "Long live the nation! Long live the king!" the clashing of arms, the sounds of music, instantly mingled in one unanimous and prolonged cadence. The president of the assembly took the same oath, and all the deputies repeated it at the same time. Louis then rose. "I, the King of France," said he, "swear to employ all the powers delegated to me by the constitutional act of the state to maintain the constitution decreed by the National Assembly and accepted by me." The queen being led forward, raised the dauphin in her arms, and showing him to the people, said, "Here is my son; he unites with me in the same sentiments." At the same instant the banners were lowered, and the people united in a loud and prolonged shout. Subjects believed in the sincerity of the monarch, and the monarch in the attachment of his subjects; and this happy day was terminated by a solemn chant of thanksgiving. The festival of the federation was prolonged for some time; civic games, illuminations, balls were given by the city of Paris to the deputies of the departments. A dance was led off on the site of the Bastille. Gratings, bars, and ruins were scattered here and there, and over the gate was written an inscription which contrasted finely with the ancient destination of this abode,—"*Dancing here.*" They danced with joy, with security, on the very spot where had flowed so many tears; where courage, genius, and innocence had so often breathed forth their groans,—where the cries of despair had been so often stifled.* (July 14, 1790.)

But notwithstanding all this show of love and peace, a secret fermentation remained. During the year 1790, however, the royal family lived quietly in the Tuileries, in a condition no way different from that of prisoners constantly alarmed by rumours of insurrection and foreign war. The second act of the great drama begins with the decree of the Assembly that the king should not remove more than twenty leagues from Paris, and that in case he should leave the kingdom and refuse to return on the invitation of the assembly, he should forfeit the throne. The countenance of the people was sought by all parties; they were conciliated as the sovereign of the time. At that time clubs were a powerful medium for acting upon the populace, and they were resorted to. They were at this period private meetings, in which were discussed the measures of government, the affairs of state, and the decrees of the Assembly; their deliberations were without authority, but not without influence. The first club had its origin with the Breton deputies, who met together to concert their measures. When the national representation was transferred from Versailles to Paris, the Breton deputies and those who thought with them held their sittings in the old convent of the Jacobins, which gave its name to their assembly. At first it was only a preparatory meeting, but it did not content itself with influencing the Assembly. It became desirous of acting upon the municipality and the multitude, and admitted associates, the members of the communes and persons who were only citizens. Its organization became more regular, its

* Koch. Mignet. Thiers. Alison.



THE JACOBIN CLUB.

action more powerful; new societies were affiliated in the provinces, and it raised by the side of the legal power another power, which began by counselling and ended by governing it.

In becoming a popular assembly, the Jacobin club was abandoned by a part of its founders. These established a club upon the original plan, under the name of the club of Eighty-Nine. Sieyès, Chapelier, Lafayette, La Rochefoucault, directed it, as the Lameths and Barnave directed that of the Jacobins. Mirabeau shared in the deliberations of both, and was equally sought after by each of them. These clubs, of which one exercised its influence in the Assembly, the other among the people, were attached to the new order of things, though in different degrees. The aristocrats wished to attack the revolution with its own arms; they got up royalist clubs in opposition to the popular clubs. One, the Impartialist, attached itself to no party, and therefore soon fell; the other, the Monarchic, united all those whose views it represented; but it excited so much commotion that the municipal authority was compelled to put an end to it. The external situation of the nation was deemed by some sufficiently alarming to demand the suppression of emigration, as a measure of security and defence, by confiscating the property of the fugitive. But this was rejected at the instance of Mirabeau, who denounced it as worthy of being placed in the code of Draco.

This great statesman did not much longer enjoy his popularity. In a few days after this sitting, worn out by toil and passion, he died. His death was

a public calamity; all Paris assisted at his funeral; all France put on mourning; and his remains were deposited in a burial-ground which was thenceforth consecrated to great men in the name of a grateful country. He had no successor in power and popularity, and the eyes of the Assembly, in a difficult discussion, were for a long time wont to turn towards that seat whence the sovereign word had issued to terminate their debates. Mirabeau probably died not unseasonably for his fame. He had thus far successfully aided and guided the revolution, now he was meditating vast designs, very difficult to accomplish—to strengthen the throne, and to fix the revolution in the stage at which it had then arrived. Comparing Mirabeau with Wilkes and Chatham, Macaulay says, he had Wilkes's sensuality, Wilkes's levity, Wilkes's insensibility to shame. Like Wilkes, he brought on himself the censure even of men of pleasure by the peculiar grossness of his immorality and by the obscenity of his writings. Like Wilkes, he was heedless not only of the laws of morality but of the laws of honour. Yet he affected like Wilkes to unite the character of the demagogue to that of the fine gentleman. Like Wilkes, he conciliated by his good humour and his high spirits the regard of many who despised his character. Like Wilkes, he was hideously ugly; like Wilkes, he made a jest of his own ugliness; and, like Wilkes, he was, in spite of his ugliness, very attentive to his dress, and very successful in affairs of gallantry.

Resembling Wilkes in the lower and grosser parts of his character, he had in his higher qualities some affinity to Chatham. His eloquence, as far as we can judge of it, bore no inconsiderable resemblance to that of the great English minister. He was not eminently successful in long set speeches. He was not, on the other hand, a close and ready debater. Sudden bursts, which seemed to be the effect of inspiration—short sentences, which came like lightning, dazzling, burning, striking down every thing before them—sentences which, spoken at critical moments, decided the fate of great questions—sentences which at once became proverbs—sentences which everybody still knows by heart—in these chiefly lay the oratorical power of both Chatham and Mirabeau. There have been far greater speakers and far greater statesmen than either of them; but we doubt whether any men have in modern times exercised such vast personal influence over stormy and divided assemblies. The power of both was as much moral as intellectual. In true dignity of character, in private and public virtue, it may seem absurd to institute any comparison between them; but they had the same haughtiness and vehemence of temper. In their language and manner there was a disdainful self-confidence, an impetuousness, a fierceness of passion, before which all common minds quailed. Even Murray and Charles Townshend, though intellectually not inferior to Chatham, were always cowed by him. Barnave, in the same manner, though the best debater in the National Assembly, flinched before the energy of Mirabeau. Men, except in bad novels, are not all good or all evil. It can scarcely be denied that the virtue of Lord Chatham was a little theatrical. On the other hand, there was in Mirabeau not indeed any thing deserving the name of virtue, but that imperfect substitute for virtue that is found in almost all superior



MIRABEAU.

minds—a sensibility to the beautiful and the good, which sometimes amounted to sincere enthusiasm, and which, mingled with the desire of admiration, sometimes gave to his character a lustre resembling the lustre of true goodness; as the faded splendour wan which lingered round the fallen archangel resembled the exceeding brightness of those spirits who had kept their first estate.

Infinitely more dangerous to the peace of Europe than the intrigues of the Jacobins were the emigrations of the nobles who were dissatisfied with the revolution; instead of remaining at home and organizing a constitutional resistance, they resolved to seek the restoration of the old government with all its abuses by the intervention of foreign powers. A meeting and conference took place at Pilnitz between the Emperor of Germany, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony; the Count D'Artois, brother to the French monarch, came uninvited, and engaged the sovereigns to issue a vague declaration in favour of the rights of kings. Louis made another attempt to escape from the captivity in which he was held to the frontiers. He fled from Paris, accompanied by the queen and his children, but was discovered at Varennes and brought back a prisoner to the capital.

This failure exposed the royal family to suspicions, of which the Jacobins took advantage, and an effort was made in the National Assembly to procure the deposition of the king. A large assemblage which had met in the Champ de Mars for the purpose of overawing the Assembly into this measure, was dispersed by Lafayette without bloodshed. But the multitude returned on the same day in greater numbers and with more resolute determination. From the altar of the country Danton and Camille-Desmoulins harangued it; two

persons whom they took for spies were killed, and Lafayette came again with twelve hundred National Guards to suppress the insurrection. Bailly accompanied him, and caused the red flag to be unfurled; but the multitude refused to retire, and assailed the guard vigorously with stones. Firing in the air caused the soldiers to be more fiercely assaulted, and they therefore made a real and effective discharge upon the insurgents. The multitude, struck with terror, fled, leaving numbers dead upon the Field of Federation. The disturbance ceased, order was restored, but blood had been shed, and the people never pardoned either Lafayette or Bailly the necessity to which they had been forced.

The moderate party in the Assembly, however, had gained the ascendancy. The constitutional articles were revised in some points, and digested into a systematic form. On the 13th of September, 1791, the king accepted this new constitution with readiness, and his frank communication of his satisfaction with the arrangement to his ambassadors at the different European courts, for a time restored his popularity. The Emperor Leopold notified to the other powers that all danger of war was averted, and the external and internal tranquillity of France seemed to be assured. The Constituent Assembly, after having declared Avignon and Venaissin annexed to France, separated to make way for a Legislative Assembly. This just and glorious revolutionary body was courageous and enlightened; it had only one passion, that of the law. In two years, by unexampled efforts and perseverance, it accomplished the greatest revolution which a single generation of mankind ever witnessed. In the midst of its labours, it put down despotism and anarchy by defeating the intrigues of the aristocracy and maintaining the subordination of the people. The work it had been required to do was one of devastation, and so well qualified was it for its accomplishment, that it was in truth what Burke called it in irony, the ablest architect of ruin the world ever saw. Its error was in not confiding the conduct of the revolution to those who had effected it. In a moment of unreflecting liberality it declared that none of its members could be elected to the first Legislative Assembly, thus foolishly imitating the example of those legislators of antiquity, who exiled themselves from their country after having given it a constitution. A new Assembly did not apply itself to the consolidation of the work of its predecessor, and the revolution, which required only to be completed, was begun anew.*

The Legislative Assembly commenced its sessions on the 1st of October, 1791. The party most friendly to the constitution was led by Lameth, Barnave, Duport, Damas, and Vaublanc, and received its name from the club of Feuillants, which formed the centre of its power. Their adversaries were termed Girondists, as the most able of the party came from a province of that name near Bordeaux. Their orators were more brilliant than those of the Feuillants; Condorcet, Petion, Vergniaud, Gaudet, Gensonné, Isnard, and Brissot being among the most conspicuous. But there was a third party,

* Mignet.
2 B

more revolutionary and less humane than the Girondists, who were becoming adepts in the art of exciting the populace. In the Assembly their leaders were Chabot, Bazire, and Merlin, but the clubs of the Jacobins and Cordeliers were the pillars of their authority. In the first Robespierre, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois held sway; the latter was under the dominion of Danton, Carrier, Desmoulins, and Fabre d'Eglantine. Santerre, a brewer celebrated in the bloodiest days of the revolution, had obtained the complete rule of the Faubourg St. Antoine.*

The first contest was with the clergy, who sought to make interest for their cause among the people, and instigated revolts in the districts of Calvados, Gevandam, and La Vendee. The Assembly confiscated the property of the emigrants, and banished those of the priests who refused to swear to the constitution, while the king was treated with disrespect and forced to dismiss a portion of his guards. At this period the Austrian and Prussian monarchs assembled a large force on the frontiers, and the king proposed a declaration of war to the Assembly, in accordance with the will of his ministry. This was composed chiefly of Jacobins. It was termed by the court party the *sans culotte* ministry, because Roland, who was minister for the interior, had presented himself at court for the first time in a round hat, and with strings in his shoes instead of buckles; a dress not then consistent with court etiquette.

In the evening the convention met to consider the war question, when it was almost unanimously agreed to, Condorcet, Roland, Clavière, Degraives, and others of the most enlightened men in the Assembly being carried away by the more vehement and reckless to vote in favour of a measure of which they really



DUKE OF BRUNSWICK.

disapproved. (April 20, 1792.) One hundred and fifty thousand men were decreed for the support of the war, and Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette were each to command an army. This number, however, was not more than half assembled, the munitions were insufficient, fortresses in a bad condition, and the soldiers disorderly and undisciplined. An invasion of Austrian Flanders was disgracefully frustrated by this state of things, and Rochambeau retired from the service in disgust. The allies collected a force of seventy thousand Prussians and sixty-eight thousand Austrians, Hessians,

and emigrants. On the frontiers, under the Duke of Brunswick, Longwy and Verdun opened their gates, but the farther progress of the allies was arrested by Dumouriez, who had succeeded Lafayette in the command of the army.

* Alison. Mignet.

He threw himself into the forest of Argonne, and established his army at Grand-pre and Les-Islettes, whence he wrote as follows to the Assembly: "The camp of Grand-pre and that of Les-Islettes are the Thermopylæ of France, but I shall



DUMOURIEZ.

be more fortunate than Leonidas." The Prussians were in fact compelled to suspend their march; but a fault committed by Dumouriez obliged him to abandon his position and fall back upon St. Menchould, where he maintained himself until sickness and the want of provisions compelled the invaders to recross the Rhine. The campaign was marked by other successes at different points. On the Rhine, Custine had possessed himself of Treves, Spire, and Mayence; Montesquieu had invaded Savoy, and Anselme the county of Nice. The French armies had everywhere resumed the offensive, and the revolution was triumphant.

Meanwhile the Assembly continued to issue decrees repugnant to the conscience of the king and dangerous to the security of the throne. Louis, who had been offended by the dismissal of his guards, declared that he could no longer submit to the insolence of his new ministers, three of whom he discarded with indignation. Their accomplices, the Jacobins, and Petion, the mayor of Paris, then organized an insurrection of the armed populace of the faubourgs or suburbs. They first entered the hall of the Assembly, and thence went to the Tuileries, the gates of which the king commanded to be opened. He presented himself almost alone before the insurgents, and while he maintained the stand he had taken against the decrees of the Assembly, his firmness and courage saved his own life and that of his queen. The Assembly, however, displayed the most shameful pusillanimity. They even carried their cowardice so far as to replace in office Petion and Manuel, whom the king had suspended from their functions for having failed to perform their duty.

The popular excitement was very great: the Assembly, in view of the foreign troops on the frontiers, declared the country in danger, all citizens capable of bearing arms were enrolled, pikes were distributed, and every thing indicated an approaching crisis. The cry of the multitudes on the anniversary of the 14th of July was "Petion or death!" The popular party in Paris was desirous to annul the king's authority. Robespierre, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Fabre d'Eglantine, and the infamous Marat, harangued the multitude and inflamed its madness. Attempts were made in the Assembly to depose the king and bring Lafayette to trial, and the revolutionists fixed upon the 10th of August for an attack upon the palace. The court had provided soldiers for its defence. But the terrible Danton led on the multitude with pointed cannon, and the National Guard gave evidence of their unwillingness to protect the king. Louis therefore left the Tuileries and proceeded with his family to



LOUIS XVI. GOING TO THE HALL OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

the hall of the Assembly, amid the insults and clamors of the populace. The contest at the palace raged after the king's departure between the Swiss guards and the assailants, of whom the advanced guard was formed of Marseillois and Bretons, led on by Westermann. The Swiss were cut to pieces; and this was the last day of the monarchy. The council of the commune of Paris had been violently changed, and the head of the new municipality came before the Assembly to demand the recognition of its powers, preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed the words *Patrie, liberté, égalité*; and concluded its address by demanding the king's deposition and a National Assembly. Vergniaud, the president of the Legislative Assembly, replied by proposing the convocation of an Assembly extraordinary, the dismissal of the ministers, and the suspension of the royal authority. These measures were approved; the Girondin ministers were recalled, Louis XVI. was conducted to the temple, and the 23d of September was fixed for the opening of the Assembly which was to decide on the destinies of the nation.

From that moment the revolutionary movement was directed rather to the maintenance of the public safety than the promotion of liberty; and Lafayette perceived that such was its future mission, after having himself made incredible efforts for the re-establishment of a constitutional monarchy. The enemy's army was approaching and the country was menaced with civil war.

Under these circumstances, Lafayette could not hesitate between the resignation of his command and the chance of provoking internal strife. He abandoned his army and passed the frontier. Recognised by the Austrian posts, he was arrested and imprisoned by the Emperor, first at Magdeburgh and afterwards at Olmutz, in defiance of the law of nations. There he exhibited a noble courage during four years of cruel captivity. His release was made conditional upon certain retractions which were required from him ; and he chose rather to remain in fetters than abjure the cause to which he had dedicated his fortune and his life.

In Paris, the victorious party of the 10th of August proceeded to establish its authority by the most violent measures. It caused all the statues of the kings to be thrown down, opened the elective franchise to all without qualification, and demanded from the Assembly an extraordinary tribunal for the trial of those whom it was pleased to call the conspirators of the 10th of August. The tribunal was established, and, in compliance with the advice of Danton to begin to arrest the progress of the enemy by striking terror into the royalists at home, many arrests were made. When the news of the taking of Verdun was received, in the night between the 1st and 2d of September, 1792, the infuriated multitude commenced the massacre of the prisons. For three days the unhappy nobles and priests recently arrested were slaughtered by three hundred murderers, amidst a horrid parody of judicial forms. Through all that fearful time were multiplied on one hand traits of noble resignation and heroic devotion, and on the other, acts of the most atrocious madness. They enacted their horrid saturnalia beneath the walls of the Temple itself, presenting to the eyes of the queen, at that royal prison, the bleeding head of her friend, the unfortunate Princess de Lamballe. The Assembly wanted the power to put a stop to these massacres. The mayor Petion was suspended from his functions, the good amongst the citizens were stricken with terror, and the mob reigned supreme in Paris.

The first act of the new Assembly, which assumed the title of the National Convention, was to abolish royalty and proclaim the republic ; its next, to declare that it would date from the year 1 of the French republic. These measures were voted by unanimous acclamation ; but a short time only had elapsed ere the two parties who towards its close had divided the Legislative Assembly, recommenced a furious contest, the issue of which was fatal to both. These parties were that of the Girondins, who sat on the right of the Assembly, and that of the Mountain, who occupied the upper part of the left, from which they derived their name. The Girondins, intelligent and upright, were sincere republicans, but they, in repugnance at violence, lost the confidence of the constitutionalists, without acquiring that of the democrats. Less eloquent and less enlightened than the Girondists, the Mountain party were, however, more consistent, more decided and unscrupulous in the choice of means. The extreme of democracy appeared to them the best possible government, and their leaders were Danton, Robespierre, and Marat. Danton would have stopped the shedding of blood with the massacres of September ; but Marat,



ROBESPIERRE

who was a furious fanatic, had made himself the avowed apostle of murder in his discourses and in a journal which he published, "The Friend of the People." He advocated a dictatorship to combat the enemies of the revolution, and extermination in the mass for their removal. Marat paid his court to the most humble of the populace, men who, though clothed in rags or half unclothed, were now of weight in the political system. The needy, the thieves, the cut-throats, in a word, the dregs of the people, to a man supported Marat.

Robespierre, ostensibly the friend of this monster, in secret his enemy, was equally dear to the multitude, but allied to a somewhat higher division of it, to the shopkeepers and scribes, small traders and petty lawyers. In place of the filth, vulgarity, and disgusting manners, in a word, the *sans culottism* of Marat, he substituted gentlemanly pretensions, and a tasteful, elegant, and well-arranged dress. It has been regarded as inexplicable how Robespierre rose to the power which he possessed for sixteen months before his death. His contemporaries are unanimous in their declarations that his abilities were extremely moderate, that his courage was doubtful, and his style of oratory often tiresome and perplexed. If all this be true, asks Alison, how did he succeed in rising to the head of an assembly composed of men of unquestioned ability, and ruled by the oldest and most audacious orators in France? How did he compose the many and admirable speeches, close in reasoning, energetic in thought, eloquent in expression, which he delivered from the tribune and

which history has preserved to illustrate his name? Supposing them to have been written by others, how did he maintain his authority at the Jacobin club, whose nocturnal orgies generally took a turn which no previous foresight could have imagined, and no ordinary courage could withstand? How did he conduct himself in such a manner as to destroy all his rivals, and, at a time when all were burning with ambition, contrive to govern France with a power unknown to Louis XIV.? The truth is, Robespierre must have been a man of most extraordinary ability; and the depreciatory testimony of his contemporaries probably proceeded from that envy which is the never-failing attendant of sudden and unlooked-for elevation.*

In aiming at obtaining the supreme control, the first labour of Robespierre was to destroy the Gironde by means of the party of the Mountain, and the second, to destroy by their aid every man of the ancient *regime* capable by his rank, his talent, or his virtue of standing in his way. It was indispensable to reduce to his own level, either by the guillotine or otherwise, all the heads above himself. This done, the Mountain itself was to be destroyed—decimated in its highest summits, in such a manner that he alone would remain, and nothing oppose his governing France with absolute sway. The Girondists aided his design by acting against all the rules of the most ordinary prudence. They committed a fault by attacking Robespierre with the utmost violence, thereby making him a man of importance and the first of the leaders of the Mountain, a station which he had not before held; they committed a greater fault in suffering their accusation to drop. They had the majority in the Convention; but their measures were all ill-proposed or badly seconded, and none of them succeeded. They ought to have strengthened the government, restored the municipality, maintained popularity among the Jacobins, and governed them; they should have gained the multitude or prevented it from acting, but they did nothing of all this. One of their number, Buzot, proposed to give the Convention a guard of three thousand men, drawn from the departments. This would have preserved the independence of the Assembly, but it was not supported with sufficient warmth. Thus the Girondists attacked the Mountainists without weakening them; the commune without subduing it; the faubourgs without destroying their power. They irritated Paris by calling in the assistance of the departments without after all obtaining it; but their adversaries seized upon this attempt, to pervert it into a design to league all the other departments against Paris, and accordingly exhibited them to the multitude as Federalists. Carrying out this idea, the Mountainists struck a blow at them by causing to be decreed the unity and indivisibility of the Republic.

The French arms were triumphant in Belgium, where, on the 6th of November, Dumouriez gained the celebrated victory of Jemappes, over the Austrians, near Mons. On the 14th he entered Brussels; whilst his generals took possession of Namur and Antwerp. The Austrians were driven across the Roer, and all Belgium was subdued. The Flemings had received the

* Alison's Essays.

French as liberators; but the Jacobins estranged them by extortions and delivered them over to anarchy. Indignant at these proceedings, Dumouriez repaired to Paris with the twofold object of repressing their violence and saving Louis XVI. In both causes his efforts proved futile.

To gain more completely the ascendancy, it was necessary for the leaders of the Mountain to prolong the revolutionary state of France, and prevent the establishment of legal order by a terrible stroke of policy, which should move all passions and rally round them all the violent partisans, by showing them to be the faithful guardians of the Republic, whilst at the same time they would ruin the Girondists in the opinion of the mob, by holding them up as the friends of royalty. Such a stroke of policy would be the condemnation of the king, or, as he was now called, Louis Capet.*

This conviction arrived at, the unscrupulous Mountainists were not long in putting their design into execution. The discussion on the trial of the king was opened on the 13th of November, 1792; the principal charges against him arising out of papers found at the Tuileries in an iron chest, the secret of which had been disclosed to the minister Roland. Therein were discovered all the plottings and intrigues of the court against the revolution, as well as the arrangements with Mirabeau, and those with General Bouillé relative to the king's escape to Varennes. Other papers, too, found in the office of the civil list, seemed to establish the fact that Louis had not been altogether a stranger to the movements negotiated in Europe in his favour. As king, however, the constitution had declared him inviolable; besides, he was deposed and could not, but in defiance of every law, be condemned for acts anterior to his deposition. All the illegality of their conduct indeed was felt by those who directed the proceedings against him. Robespierre, in demanding his death, repudiated all forms as fictions, and, with the orator Saint Just, relied solely on reasons of state. "There is no trial contemplated," said this fearful man; "Louis is not accused, and you are not his judges; you are and only can be statesmen. You have not to pronounce a sentence for or against a man, but you have a measure of public safety to adopt, an act of national care to undertake. A dethroned king in a republic can only do two things; either he troubles the tranquillity of the state and endangers its liberty, or he adds security to both. Louis was king; the republic is founded: the great question which occupies you is decided in these few words,—Louis is not to be tried; he has been tried already; he is condemned, or the republic is not absolute." He then demanded that the Convention should declare Louis XVI. a traitor to the French, guilty towards humanity, and condemn him forthwith to death in virtue of the insurrection.†

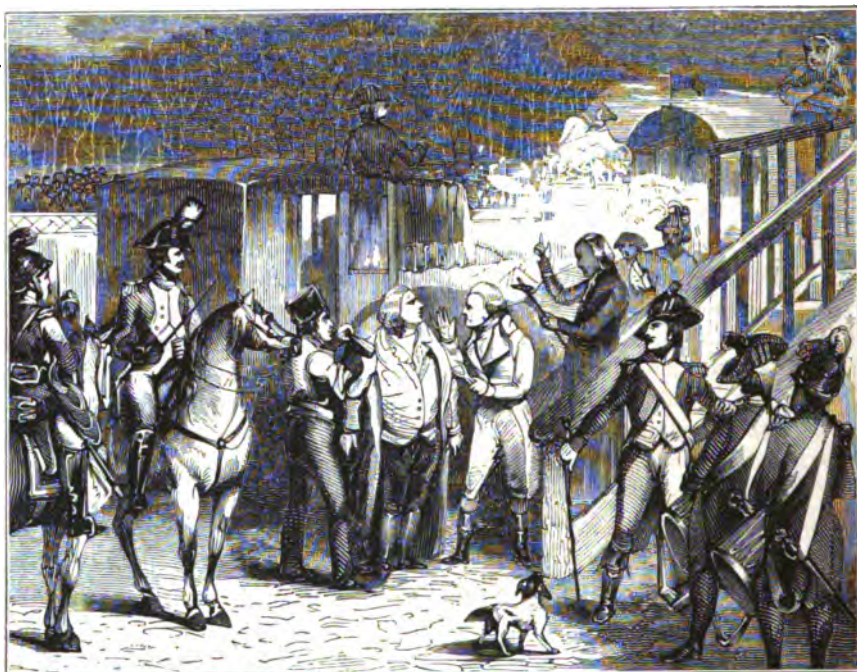
The majority of the Assembly persisted in the determination to submit this great process to judicial forms; and Louis, who had already been separated from his family, appeared as a culprit before the Convention, whose jurisdiction he did not challenge. His countenance was firm and noble; his answers pre-

* Mignet.

† Mignet. Bonnechose.

cise, touching, and almost always triumphant. Conducted back to the Temple, he demanded a defender, and named Tronchet and Target. The latter declined, and Malesherbes offered himself in his place. He was accepted. These counsellors immediately set about preparing his defence, which was delivered by their associate, M. de Seze. His pathetic pleading concluded in the following words, which, for their truth and solemnity, deserve to be recorded: "Listen to History, who will say to Fame—Louis, who ascended the throne at the age of twenty, carried with him an example of morality, justice, and economy; he had no weaknesses, no corrupting passion, and he was the constant friend of the people. That people desired the abolition of a burdensome impost—Louis abolished it; the people asked for the destruction of servitudes—Louis destroyed them; the people demanded reforms—Louis gave them; the people sought to change the laws by which they were governed—Louis consented; the people desired that their alienated rights should be restored to millions of Frenchmen—Louis restored them; the people sighed for liberty—and Louis gave it. No one can deny to him the glory of having even anticipated the wishes of the people in his sacrifices; and yet, he it is whom you are asked to—Citizens, I dare not speak it! I pause before the majesty of history. Remember that history will judge your judgment, and that the judgment of history will be that of ages."

The passions of the judges were blind and implacable; Louis was declared guilty by a unanimous vote, and the appeal to the people in reference to his sentence, which the Girondists demanded, was refused. Nothing then remained but to pronounce the punishment to be inflicted on the king. Of seven hundred and twenty-one voters, three hundred and sixty-six, and among these the Duke of Orleans, pronounced death, which thus was carried by a majority of five. An attempt was made to appeal from the sentence to the nation; but his execution was ordered to take place within twenty-four hours. Louis had one last and heart-rending interview with his family after his condemnation, and then prepared himself for death. He had already made his will, a monument at once of his piety and the purity of his heart. He slept calmly, received the offices of the church, and confided his last wishes to his faithful and only remaining servant, Clery. Santerre shortly after arrived, and Louis went forth with him to execution. The carriage took an hour to go from the Temple to the Square of the Revolution. A double line of soldiers guarded the road, and more than 4000 men were under arms. Paris was in gloom. There were no signs of approbation, no appearances indicating regret. All were silent. On their arrival at the place of execution, Louis descended from the carriage. He mounted with a firm step the ladder on the scaffold, and received on his knees the blessing of the priest, who then said to him, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to heaven." With some reluctance he allowed his hands to be tied, and turning to the left of the scaffold, he said, "I die innocent. I forgive my enemies, and you, unfortunate people." At this moment the signal for the drums to beat was given; the sound of their roll drowned his voice, and the three execu-



DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

tioners seized him. He ceased to live at ten minutes past ten, on the 21st of January, 1793.

He was thirty-nine years of age, and he had reigned sixteen years and a half, endeavouring to do good. He was the best and the weakest of monarchs. The revolution was an inheritance bequeathed to him by his ancestors. He was better fitted than any of those who preceded him, either to prevent or terminate it; for he was capable of being a reformer before it broke out, or a constitutional monarch afterwards. He was perhaps the only prince who, destitute of passions, had not even the love of power, and who united the two qualities of a good king, the fear of God and the love of his people. He perished the victim of passions which he did not share; of the passions of those about him, to which he was a stranger, and those of the multitude, which he had not excited. There are few kings who have left behind them so excellent a memory, and history will say of him that with a little more strength of mind he would have been a pattern to monarchs.*

From the moment of the king's death, the revolution had for its enemies England, Holland, Spain, the German confederation, Bavaria, Suabia, the Elector Palatine, Naples, the Holy See, and afterwards Russia. The voice of

* Mignet.

general detestation, however, did not check the career of the sanguinary faction. The crime with which the Convention had stained themselves prefaced the ruin of the Girondists, though they retarded their downfall by a struggle of four months. Two insurrections of the sections of Paris, May 31 and June 2, 1793, organized by Hebert, the procureur of the commune, and by the deputies Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, decided the victory. The Girondists were proscribed for their royalty and federalism, twenty-four of their leaders were pointed out by Marat and confined to their own houses by the Assembly, and the appeased multitude dispersed: but from that day the party of the Gironde was broken down and the Convention was no longer free.

Troubles had already broken out in La Vendee, where, with the ancient manners, the feudal customs and prejudices had been preserved, where the rural population remained submissive to the priests and the nobles, which latter did not join in the tide of emigration. Under the name of the revolutionary government, Danton had founded the despotism of the multitude. A levy of three hundred thousand armed men was ordered, and an extraordinary tribunal created, consisting of nine members, commissioned to punish the domestic enemies of the revolution. The attempt to levy troops in La Vendee was followed by the breaking forth of a general insurrection, which was headed by the wagoner Cathelineau, a naval officer named Charette, and the gamekeeper



CHARETTE.

Stofflet, and seconded by the principal nobles. They defeated the troops of the line and the National Guard which marched against them, overthrowing the republican generals, one after the other, simply by their passionate intrepidity. They formed three armies of from ten to twelve thousand men each; the army of Anjou, on the banks of the Loire, under Bonchamps, the grand army in the centre under D'Elbée, and the army of the Marsh, occupying Lower Vendee, under Charette. Cathelineau was proclaimed generalissimo.

About the time of the rising in La Vendee, General Dumouriez, who had long been hostile to the Jacobins, contemplated their overthrow and the restoration of the constitutional monarchy. He had invaded Holland unsuccessfully, had lost the battle of Nerwinde against the Prince of Coburg, and been compelled to evacuate Belgium. These misfortunes exposed him more than ever to their attacks, and he meditated a desertion from the cause of the Republic and a march on Paris in concert with the Austrians. But the Convention, informed of his designs, sent a commission to bring him to its bar. He delivered the commissioners to the Austrians; but found too late that the republican enthusiasm had taken possession of his troops. They abandoned him, and he fled for safety to the camp of the Austrians.



MARAT.

The most resolute of the Girondins availed themselves of the indignation excited throughout France by the events of the 31st of May and the 2d of June to raise the departments. Caen became the centre of insurrection in the north. Brittany took part in it, and the insurgents formed an army under General Wimpfen and prepared to march upon Paris.

It was from Caen that Charlotte Corday set out—a young girl, beautiful and brave, heroically resolved to punish Marat, whom she regarded as the principal author of the outbreaks of 31st of May and 2d of June. She thought to save the republic by sacrificing herself, not aware that the tyranny did not depend upon one man, but upon a party and the state of violence in which the republic was placed. She effected her generous but useless enterprise, and suffered herself to be led to death with unalterable serenity and a modest courage, accompanied with the satisfaction of having performed what she conceived was a noble action. “I have killed,” said she, “one man to save a hundred thousand; a depraved wretch to save the innocent; a ferocious monster to procure peace to my country. I was a republican before the revolution, and I never wanted energy.” But after his assassination Marat became an object of still greater enthusiasm than he had been during his lifetime. His name was invoked in the public squares, his bust was seen in all popular assemblies, and the Convention was forced to grant him the honours of the Pantheon.

The dangers of the Convention, however, continually increased. The principal towns of the kingdom and more than sixty departments were in revolt. In rivalry of Marat, a fanatical ruffian named Chalier had endeavoured to imitate at Lyons the proscriptions of the Parisian commune. A contest arose; Chalier lost his head, and, after the second of June, Lyons refused obedience to the Convention. Twenty thousand men took arms within its walls; Marseilles rose about the same time; Toulon, Nismes, and Montauban followed the example. The royalists availed themselves of the movement; they called the English into Toulon, where Admiral Hood entered and proclaimed Louis XVII. Bordeaux likewise revolted. The Vendéans were masters of Bressuire, Argenton, and Thouars. Forty thousand of their troops carried Saumur and Angers, and threw themselves upon Nantes. Not more promising was the situation of the Convention with regard to foreign enemies. Its generals were for the most part Girondists, inimical to the party of the Mountain, and no harmony could subsist between them. Custine was appointed to the army of the north in vain. Mayence resisted admirably, but was compelled to capitulate. The enemy took Valenciennes and Condé; the frontier was passed; and the army, disheartened, retired behind the Scarpe, their last defensive position on that side of Paris.

The Convention, however, resolved manfully to oppose the accumulated dangers. They voted in a few hours a constitution, which established the uncontrolled sway of the multitude, and which, acknowledged by its authors themselves to be impracticable in a time of general war, they were obliged to suspend until peace should be restored. The deputies of the forty-four thousand municipalities of France, heard at the bar of the Convention, demanded the arrest of all suspected persons and the levy *en masse* of the people. "Let us respond to the call," said Danton; "it is by the sound of cannon that the constitution must be proclaimed to our foes. The time is come for that great and final vow, by which we devote ourselves to death or the annihilation of tyrants!" The vow was taken, and soon after Barrere, in the name of the committee of Public Safety, proposed rigorous measures, which were adopted. All the youth of France from eighteen to twenty-five years of age took arms; and France had ere long on foot fourteen armies amounting to twelve hundred thousand soldiers. Terror was again brought into operation to provide for their maintenance and subsistence. The middle classes were overwhelmed by violent and multiplied requisitions, death being the penalty of resistance. The law against suspected persons was passed; and France, transformed, for one portion of her inhabitants, into a camp, became for another a prison. The commercial and citizen classes furnished the prisoners, and were placed, as well as the authorities, under the surveillance of the multitude represented by the clubs, whom the Convention laboured to attach to themselves. Each needy individual received forty sous a day for attending the assemblies of his section. Certificates of citizenship were distributed, and each section had its revolutionary committees.

By such violent measures the Convention triumphed. The army of

Calvados was routed at Vernon ; and a solemn retractation was obtained from the insurgents at Caen. Bordeaux, Toulon, and Lyons fell in succession before the republican arms, and the Vendéans alone maintained a terrible and sanguinary struggle for their altars and the throne. Repulsed in their attack on Nantes, with the loss of their leader, Cathelineau, they fell back behind the Loire and defeated, one after the other, the republican generals Biron, Rossignol, and Canclaux. At length seventeen thousand men of the old garrison of Mayence, reputed as the flower of the army, were sent into La Vendee, under the command of Kleber. The royalists defeated the Mayençais in the first battle ; but they suffered four consecutive defeats at Chatillon and at Chollet, their principal leaders being wounded in those sanguinary conflicts. Surrounded on all sides in La Vendee, they appealed for aid to the English, who demanded, as a preliminary to sending succours, that they should possess themselves of some seaport. Eighty thousand Vendéans thereupon issued from their devastated country, directing their march upon Grandville ; but being repulsed from before that place by the want of artillery, and routed at Mans, they were entirely destroyed in the attempt to pass the Loire at Savenay.



COUNT HENRI DE LA ROCHEJAQUELIN.

Charette, however, continued the war, but the island of Noirmoutiers was taken from him, and La Rochejaquelein, the Achilles of La Vendee, perished by assassination. The conquest of the country by the republicans was now complete, and a system of extermination commenced. General Thureau surrounded the conquered province with sixteen intrenched camps and twelve movable columns, known as the *infernal columns*, and traversed the country with fire and sword.

At the same time the republic was triumphant on the frontiers. Houchard had beaten the Duke of York at the battle of Hondtschoot ; and was shortly after replaced by Jourdan, who assumed the command of the army of the north. The Girondist commanders were all replaced by Jacobins ; the Convention and the military leaders were again united ; and success was the result. Jourdan, having defeated the Prince of Coburg at Wattignies, resumed the offensive, while Hoche and Pichegru were equally victorious with the army of the Moselle, and Kellermann with that of the Alps. The stain with which an infamous government tarnished the republic seemed about to be wiped away by her armies.

All this while the committee of Public Safety pursued its course of executions. This decemviral power, established until the restoration of peace, was composed of extreme Mountainists, Robespierre, Couthon, Saint Just, Collot

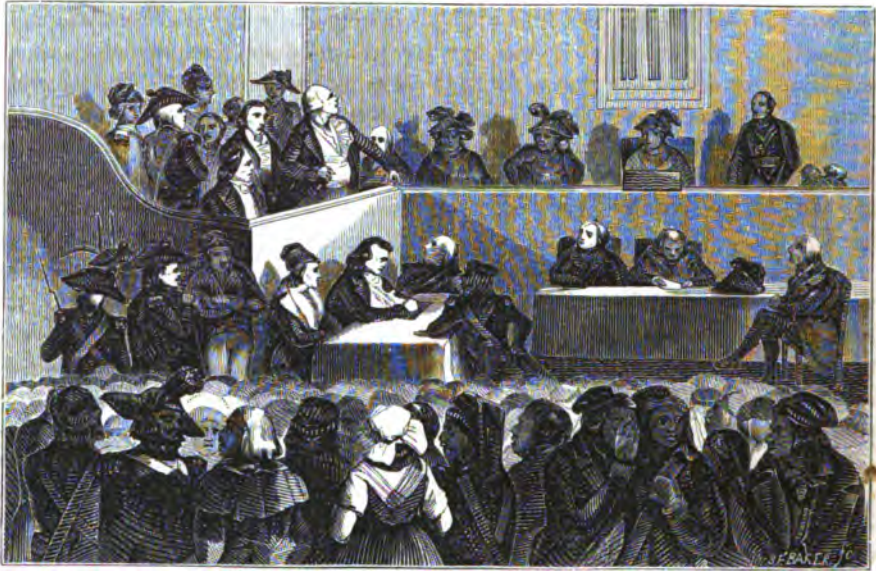
d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, and Barrere being among the members. Each of these appropriated to himself a particular part in the drama. Carnot took no active share in the proscriptions, but directed his genius to the management of the military affairs. All the victories gained by the republic over its enemies at home were signalized by horrid massacres. Barrere procured an anathema to be issued against the town of Lyons. The name of Lyons, he said, ought no longer to exist. It should be called *Commune affranchie*; and upon the ruins of this infamous city a monument should be raised to attest the crime and punishment of the enemies of liberty. A single word would speak the whole. "Lyons made war against Liberty. Lyons is no more." Collot d'Herbois, Fouché, and



DUKE OF YORK.

Couthon were the executioners of the decrees of the Convention against this unhappy city; but the scaffold was too slow for their vengeance, and the vanquished insurgents were mowed down with grapeshot in the public squares. Toulon, Caen, Marseilles, and Bordeaux likewise became the theatres of frightful executions, and at Paris the most illustrious victims and chiefs of all the vanquished parties laid their heads upon the scaffold. The queen Marie Antoinette and the heroic Bailly died within a few days of each other; and the horror of their condemnation and execution was heightened by circumstances of execrable atrocity. To these succeeded the Girondins, proscribed on the 2d of June, to the number of twenty-two; who advanced to death singing the Marseilles hymn. The Duke of Orleans fell; Barnave and Duport-Dutertre were slaughtered, and along with them the Generals Houchard, Custine, Biron, Beauharnais, and a crowd of others. Buzot and Petion struck at their own lives. Madame Roland died on the scaffold; her husband slew himself on the highway when he received the intelligence. All the Girondists who fled were outlawed. Two hundred thousand suspected persons were thrown into prison; the towns flowed with blood; the chateaux, convents, and churches were destroyed; the monuments of art were overthrown; the land was uncultivated, and famine added to the scourges which tortured the unhappy nation. Public credit was annihilated; and the public expenses were provided for by the sale of the property of proscribed persons, and by despotic measures originating in necessity and sustained by terror.

It was resolved to consecrate so unexampled a revolution by the establishment of a new era. The division of the year was changed, as were also the names of the months and days, and the Christian was replaced by the republican calendar. The new era was made to date from the 22d of September, 1792, the period of the foundation of the republic; the year was divided



TRIAL OF DANTON AND HIS FRIENDS.

into twelve equal months of thirty days; the five remaining days of the year received the name of *sans-culottides*, and were consecrated to genius, to labour, to actions, to rewards, and to opinion. In a short time Hebert and Chaumette, two chiefs of the commune, prevailed on the Convention to decree the abolition of the Christian religion, November 10, 1793. The worship of Reason was substituted in its place, and the church of Notre Dame at Paris was profaned by being converted into a temple of atheism. Gobel, the constitutional bishop of Paris, and several other ecclesiastics were compelled publicly to apostatize their faith, and plunder and sacrilege of every kind were committed in the Catholic churches.

The revolutionary tyrants were divided into three parties. The committee of Public Safety, at the head of which stood Robespierre, supported by the club of the Jacobins, governed with absolute power. Hebert, Chaumette, Anacharsis Clootz, a Prussian, and the other members of the Commune, formed a second party, more violent than the first, but contemptible from the character of the individuals who composed it. The third comprehended Danton and his friends, who stood in awe of Robespierre, and wished to put an end to the reign of violence. Robespierre used each of the other parties to accomplish his ends. By a temporary union with the Dantonists, he annihilated the faction of the Commune. Hebert, Chaumette, Clootz, and the other anarchist chiefs

were all arrested, condemned, and executed without a show of courage. (March 24, 1794.) After this, Robespierre found little difficulty in sending Danton and his friends to the scaffold. Arraigned before the revolutionary tribunal, they distinguished themselves by their boldness and the scorn they exhibited towards their judges. As he was dragged to death, Danton exclaimed, "I drag Robespierre. . . . Robespierre follows me." They advanced with firmness to the place of execution, amid a silent multitude. From that moment no voice was for some time raised against the decemvirs, and the Convention proclaimed that terror and all the virtues were the order of the day.

For a period of four months, the power of the committees was exercised without restraint; and death became the sole instrument of government. At Nantes, in Arras and Orange, the proconsuls Carrier, Lebon, and Maignet distinguished themselves by unheard-of atrocities. At Paris, among the most illustrious victims of that period may be mentioned the Marshals De Noailles and De Maille, the ministers Michaud and Laverdi, the learned Lavoisier, the venerable Malesherbes and his family, D'Epremenil, Thouret, and Chapelier, all members of the Constituent Assembly, and finally, the angelic sister of Louis XVI., Madame Elizabeth. "The more the body social perspires," said Collet d'Herbois, "the more healthy it becomes." Robespierre and Saint Just announced their intention to establish the reign of virtue. They associated with them Couthon, and the three formed together a terrible triumvirate in the very heart of the committee, a triumvirate which prepared its own ruin by its very isolation. Robespierre knew that social order, to be such, must rest upon a religious foundation. He therefore caused the Convention to declare that the French nation recognised the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul; and subsequently to dedicate festivals to the Supreme Being and to some of the virtues. Regarded by his followers as the chief founder of a moral democracy, he attained supreme power, and the day of the "Festival of the Supreme Being" was a perfect triumph for him. As president of the Convention, he marched at its head, alone and twenty paces in advance of the rest. He was the object of universal notice: his face radiant with joy and pride, and carrying flowers and ears of corn in his hand, he approached the altar, where he harangued the people like a high-priest. (20th Prairial—9th June.) On the very next day, 21st Prairial, Robespierre caused Couthon to propose an execrable law, which refused defenders to accused persons, ordered them to be tried in mass instead of singly, and prescribed to juries no law save that of their conscience. It was adopted, yet Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, and the judges his accomplices, members of the revolutionary tribunal, could hardly keep pace with the number of the proscribed. Fifty persons were daily dragged to execution in Paris alone. The scaffold was removed to the Faubourg St. Antoine, and a conduit was constructed to receive and carry off the blood of the martyrs.

Under this system had commenced the campaign of 1794. The Austrians had marched against the towns on the Somme, and Pichegru, with fifty thou-

sand men from the army of the north, had projected the conquest of Belgium. He penetrated into Flanders, supported on the right by Moreau, whilst Jourdan, at the head of the army of the Moselle, directed his march against Charleroi to effect a junction with the army of the north. The Austrians, in alarm, abandoned their positions, Pichegru defeated the Duke of York and Clairfait at Courtrai and at Hooglede; while Jourdan beat the Prince of Coburg at Fleurus, and the Netherlands were invaded in all directions. With the army of the Rhine, Hoche drove Brunswick and Wurmser before him across the river at Philipsburg. These successes delivered Belgium into the hands of the republicans, whose armies occupied the left bank of the Meuse, and all the towns along the Rhine except Mannheim and Mayence. The French arms were triumphant alike in the north and in the south. Dugommier and Moncey promptly repaired some reverses early sustained on the Spanish frontier, drove the Spaniards out of France, and penetrated into the peninsula, where Moncey took possession of Saint Sebastian and Fontarabia.

Wearied out with the atrocities which disgraced the republic at home, several of the Mountainists resolved to bring them to a close. Tallien, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Legendre headed this party; they were supported by Collot d'Herbois and Billaud-Varennes, who were jealous of the triumvirs, in the committee of Public Safety, and by Vadier, Voulant, and Amar in the committee of General Welfare. Robespierre had determined on their destruction, and it was necessary to be beforehand with him, or be his victims. In a session of the Convention held on the 9th Thermidor, (27th July,) when Robespierre had come thither to terminate the contest, Saint Just ascended the tribune. He was interrupted by Tallien and Billaud, who commenced the attack. Robespierre rushed forward to reply, but the cry of "Down with the tyrant!" and the bell which the president Thuriot rang without intermission, prevented his being heard. Tallien denounced him as another Cromwell, and threatened to pierce his heart with a poniard which he waved in his hand. He procured a decree for the arrest of Henriot, the commander of the armed force, and a declaration of the Assembly that its sitting was permanent. Barrere caused it to place itself under the protection of the armed sections. "Now let us return to the tyrant!" said Tallien, and he attacked him still more warmly. Robespierre had repeatedly attempted to speak, had ascended and descended the steps of the tribune; but his voice was always drowned by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" and the ringing of the president's bell. At length, in a moment of silence, he cried, "President of assassins, wilt thou suffer me to speak?" The bell sounded again. Storming like a madman, he flew from bench to bench of the Assembly, and addressed himself with supplications to the members of the right, who turned from him with loathing. At length he fell back in his seat, exhausted with fatigue and foaming at the mouth. "Wretch!" said a Mountainist, "the blood of Danton chokes thee." His arrest was forthwith proposed; his brother and Lebas demanded to share his fate. The Assembly ordered that they should be seized with Couthon and Saint Just, and delivered into the hands of the gens d'armes.

But the victory was yet undecided. The centre of Robespierre's power was in the club of the Jacobins; hence he was secure of the support of the lower orders, whilst Fleuriot, mayor of Paris, Henriot, and the revolutionary tribunal were his creatures. The municipal deputies repaired to their assembly, and Henriot, until his arrest, traversed the street, sabre in hand, shouting to arms. In the evening the insurgents were in the ascendant; they marched in a body on the prisons and delivered Robespierre, Henriot, and their accomplices. Henriot immediately caused the Convention to be surrounded, and pointed the cannon against it. Terror reigned within; but their imminent danger inspired them with courage. Henriot was outlawed; his gunners refused to fire, and fell back with him upon the Hotel de Ville. This refusal decided the issue of the contest. The Convention resumed the offensive,



TALLIEN.

attacked the Commune, and outlawed its rebel members. Barras was named commander-in-chief of the armed force, the battalions of the sections swore to defend the Assembly, and defiled in the chamber before it, animated by Freron. "Set forward, lest day appear before the heads of the conspirators are stricken off," said Tallien to the chief of the civic force. It was midnight when the armed bands marched against the Commune, whither Robespierre had been borne in triumph, and where he now sat motionless and paralysed by terror. The place in front of the Hotel de Ville was filled with detachments of the National Guard, attached to the cause of the insurgents, com-

panies of cannoniers and squadrons of gendarmerie, and a multitude of individuals partially armed. The troops of the Convention marched with their cannon in silence, sustained in courage by the grandeur of their mission. Leonard Bourdon, who led the attack as assistant to Barras, caused the decree which outlawed Robespierre and his associates to be read to their supporters, the greater part of whom immediately came over and arrayed themselves with the forces of the Convention. Bourdon still hesitated to advance, the rather as a report had been spread that the Hotel de Ville was undermined, and that, rather than surrender, its occupants would blow it and themselves into the air. Meanwhile, every thing in the Hotel de Ville was in a state of the utmost agitation. Irresolution, contradictory resolutions prevailed. Robespierre had never wielded a sabre; Saint Just had dishonoured his; Henriot, almost drunk, knew not what to do. The municipal guards, well accustomed to march to commit crimes, were stupified when they found themselves the object of attack. All seemed to expect death, without having energy enough to strive to avert it by securing victory. Payen read to the conspirators the decree of outlawry, and artfully included the names of all those in the gallery who were

applauding their proceedings. The *ruse* was successful; these noisy supporters made haste to put themselves beyond the reach of danger, and the galleries were soon quite empty. The partisans of Robespierre at once received a melancholy proof how completely they were deserted. Henriot in consternation descended the stairs to harangue the cannoniers, upon whose fidelity every thing now depended. All had disappeared; the place was deserted, and in their stead Henriot perceived only the heads of the columns of the National Guard advancing in battle array. He reascended with terror in his looks and imprecations in his mouth; he announced the total defection of the troops;—instantly terror and despair took possession of that band of assassins; every one turned his fury on his neighbour; nothing but mutual execrations could be heard. Some tried to hide themselves, others to escape. Coffinhal, maddened by a transport of rage, seized Henriot in his arms, and exclaiming, “Vile wretch! your cowardice has undone us all!” threw him out of the window. A dunghill on which he fell so broke his fall as to preserve his life for the punishment which he so richly merited. Lebas took a pistol and blew out his brains; Robespierre tried to imitate him; his hand trembled; he only broke his jaw and disfigured himself in the most frightful manner. St. Just was found with a poniard in his hand, which he had not the courage to plunge into his bosom. Couthon crawled into a sewer, from whence he was dragged by the heels; the younger Robespierre threw himself from a window, but survived his fall.* The Convention-
 alists, however, effected an entrance into the Hotel de Ville, traversed its deserted apartments, seized the conspirators, and conveyed them in triumph to the Assembly. Robespierre was ordered to be carried to the Place de la Revolution. He was placed for some time at the committee of General Safety before he was conveyed to the Conciergerie. There, stretched upon a table, with a bloody and disfigured countenance, subjected to the view, to the invectives, and to the curses of the spectators, he beheld the different parties rejoicing over his fall, and upbraiding him with the crimes he had committed. He displayed great insensibility to the excessive pain which he experienced. He was conducted to the Conciergerie, and was thence brought before the revolutionary tribunal, which, on proof of his identity and that of his accomplices, sent them to the scaffold. On the 10th Thermidor, (28th July,) about five o'clock in the evening, he ascended the death cart, placed between Henriot and Couthon. His head was bound up in a bloody cloth, his face was livid, and his eye almost sightless. An immense crowd pressed round the cart, giving the strongest and most noisy demonstrations of joy. They congratulated and embraced each other, came near to obtain a better view of him, and loaded him with imprecations. The gens d’armes pointed him out with their swords; as for himself, he appeared to regard the crowd with pity; Saint Just surveyed it with an unmoved eye; the others were more dejected. Robespierre was the last who ascended the scaffold;† his head fell amidst the most enthusiastic applause. France breathed once more: the Reign of Terror was over.

* Histoire de la Convention Nationale. Alison.

† Mignet.



ROBESPIERRE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

The partisans of the system of terror were still numerous and powerful in the bosom of the Convention itself, as well as in Paris and in all France, and two new parties were formed; that of the committees, who leaned for support on the club of the Jacobins and on the faubourgs, and that of the Thermidoreans, which included the Mountainists who had contributed with Tallien to the victory of the 9th Thermidor, and who relied for support on the majority of the Convention and the armed sections. For a time the Tail of Robespierre, as the remaining terrorists were called, seemed more difficult to tame than he himself, but moderation gradually obtained the ascendant, its rule was consolidated by the death of the infamous public accuser, Fouquier Tinville, and of Carrier and Lebon, the exterminators who had ruled at Nantes and Arras. In his journal, Freron summoned the youthful population to take up arms against the terrorists, and accordingly the young men of the middling classes, distinguished by the title of the "*jeunesse dorée*," traversed the streets in strong bodies, armed with loaded bludgeons, and carrying on a war of extermination against the Jacobins. That club was attacked and taken, after a desperate resistance; its doors were closed, and Paris resembled one great battle-field. The deputies who had been proscribed for protesting against the insurrection of the 31st of May were recalled into the Convention, the decrees for expulsion of the nobles and priests were rescinded, public worship restored, the *maximum* suppressed, and the statue of Marat in the hall of session broken in pieces. But other evils arose. The assignats became almost valueless; very many families were ruined; the farmers avenged themselves for the oppression they

had suffered by hoarding up provisions; famine stalked through the land, and the lower orders sighed after the system which had given them food as well as power. Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Barrere, and Vadier had been condemned to transportation and sent to the chateau of Ham, together with seventeen turbulent members of the Mountain, who had been concerned in an insurrection to procure their release. A second insurrection, (12th Germinal—1st April, 1795,) was not more successful, and a third was organized on a formidable scale. (1st Prairial—May 20th.) The populace of St. Antoine and St. Marceau assembled together and formed a mass of 30,000 souls. The hall of session became for a time a scene of violence and warfare, but the Convention triumphed by the aid of the battalions of the sections. Some leaders and six of the Mountainists were condemned to death, and the dominion of the populace was destroyed. The Jacobin rule was ended.

The progress of the arms of the republic was not affected by the fall of the terrorists. Pichegru conquered Holland; Prussia, threatened by the republicans, concluded a peace at Basle; and Spain, in which the French had rendered themselves masters of many places, ended the war by a treaty, exchanging for these the Spanish portion of Saint Domingo. Piedmont was subdued and Italy invaded. In La Vendee, the English admiral Bridport, after a naval victory over Villaret-Joyeuse, landed an army of emigrants on the peninsula of Quiberon, but they were routed and made prisoners by Hoche, and the survivors murdered by Tallien.

The Convention now attempted to put an end to the revolutionary condition by a constitution, whose fundamental elements were a legislative body, composed of two elective chambers; one of which, the *cinq-cents*, or five hundred, was to have the originating of the laws, and the other, the *anciens* or elders, composed of men of judgment and experience, was to be invested with a veto. The executive power was to be lodged in the hands of a council of five persons, called Directors, clothed with an authority greater than that which the constitution of 1791 had given to the king. These latter were nominated by the *anciens* on the presentation of the council of *cinq-cents*. Each of the directors presided for a period of three months, and during that time affixed the signatures and kept the seals. Each year the Directory was renewed by one-fifth; it had a guard and the palace of the Luxembourg for its residence. In order that the reactions of public opinion might not deprive the party of the Convention of a majority in the new councils and the consequent nomination of the directors, they decreed that two-thirds of the members of the Convention should be re-elected. This arbitrary decree produced in Paris the revolt of the 11th Vendemiaire, (3d October.) The Convention, in alarm at the popular commotion, declared its sittings permanent, summoned around it the camp of Sablous, and made the first attack. But General Menou, who headed the Conventional troops, allowed himself to be out-generaled, and his expedition produced the same effect as a victory of the sectionaries. Barras was then chosen by the Convention to provide for its defence. A young officer, who had in reality commanded the troops under General Dugommier at the siege

of Toulon, but who had been cashiered by the counter-revolutionist Aubry, was, at the request of Barras, appointed to be second in command. A man of skill and resolution, young Bonaparte, was well qualified to command in this dangerous emergency. He appeared before the committee, but displayed none of the astonishing qualities which were so soon to distinguish him. Little of a party man, and summoned for the first time upon this great scene, his countenance wore an expression of timidity and bashfulness, which immediately vanished in the bustle of preparation and the ardour of battle. He sent Murat in haste for the artillery of the camp. Murat arrived at the park in the middle of the night with some hundreds of horsemen, and brought the guns to Bonaparte, who placed them in the avenues leading to the Tuileries, and loaded them with grapeshot. He had five thousand men of the Conventional army, and these he disposed with the guns, to await the attack of the enemy. The insurgents, who had forty thousand men under arms, commanded by Generals Danican, Duhoux, and Lafon, very soon surrounded the Convention. Admitted to a parley in the Assembly, Danican summoned the Convention to withdraw the troops and disarm the terrorists. The deliberations on this demand were suddenly brought to an end by the report of several discharges of musketry. Seven hundred muskets were brought into the Convention, and the members armed themselves as a body of reserve.

The battle commenced in the street St. Honoré, and speedily became general. The cannon vomited forth their grapeshot, shivering the ranks of the citizens, who dispersed after a desperate effort to charge the guns. They left two thousand of their number upon the battleground. According to Bonaparte's account, the whole fighting lasted less than two hours. At seven in the evening the Conventional troops assumed the offensive and were everywhere victorious. On the following day they disarmed the section Lepelletier, and reduced all the others to obedience. In the hall of the Convention, Barras frankly told his colleagues that they were indebted to General Bonaparte's prompt and skilful dispositions for their own security and the freedom of their deliberations. The Assembly acknowledged Bonaparte's services by felicita-



BARRAS.

tions and acclamations, and appointed him General of Division and second in command of the army of the interior; Barras retaining nominally the chief command, which, however, he soon after resigned on being appointed member of the executive Directory, and made it over to his protégé, whom he familiarly styled the little Corsican officer. This victory gave the Convention leisure to occupy itself with the formation of the councils. Barras was chosen to be one

of the directors, on account of his conduct in July and October, (Thermidor and Vendémiaire;) the others were Lareveillere Lepaux, whose probity, moderation, and courageous conduct had gained him universal confidence; Sieyès, the man of greatest reputation in his time; Rewbell, a person of great activity in the administrative department of the state; and Letourneur, a man of considerable political eminence. Sieyès, however, declined to make one of the Directory; and Carnot, whose political honesty and able conduct had saved him when the committees fell, was honoured with an appointment to the vacant seat. On the 26th of October, (4th Brumaire,) 1795, the Convention passed an act of oblivion, as a first measure of the government of the law; changed the name of the *Place de la Revolution* to that of *Place de la Concorde*, and declared its session at an end.

It had endured three years, from the 21st of September, 1792—a frightful period, in which the violence of the different factions converted the revolution into a war, and the house of Assembly into a field of battle. Each party struggled for victory in order to obtain the ascendancy, and endeavoured to effect the establishment of its own system in order to secure it. The Girondists, the Mountainists, the party of the Commune, and that of Robespierre successively tried and perished. They obtained victories, but they could not establish their systems. A natural consequence of such a state of affairs was the ruin of every party that attempted to restore peace and order. Every thing was provisional, power, men, parties, systems; because one thing, and one thing only, was possible—that thing was war. A whole year from the time it had regained its authority was necessary to enable the Convention to restore the nation to the dominion of the law, an object finally effected only by the victories of May and October. The Convention had now returned to its starting point, having effected its real design, the protection and consolidation of the republic. After having astonished the world, it disappeared from the scene: a revolutionary power, it began to exercise its functions the instant that order and the authority of the law ceased, and it finished its career the instant that order and the authority of the law returned. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the revolution.*

The first care of the directors was to establish their power by honestly adopting the constitutional path. In a short time confidence, trade, and commerce were restored, and the clubs began to be abandoned for the workshops and the fields. The period was distinguished by great license of manners, which the voluptuous director Barras was the first to encourage. The rich, however, were still the victims of violent and rapacious measures. The wants of the republic were so great and pressing that the government had recourse to a forced loan for a supply. It then created territorial *mandats*, which were to be employed in drawing the *assignats* out of circulation, at the rate of thirty for one, and in performing the office of a currency. They had the advantage

* Mignet. Bonnechose.

of being instantly exchangeable for the national domains which they represented, and furnished a momentary resource to the state. Subsequently, however, they fell into discredit; and their depreciation led to a bankruptcy of the enormous amount of thirty-three thousand millions. In Paris, the Directory was the object of violent attack by both democrats and royalists, and several futile attempts were made to overthrow their power.

At the commencement of the Directory, the military affairs of France had become less prosperous than before. Pichegru, who meditated plans of restoring royal authority, had opened communications with the Prince of Condé, and conducted his operations without success. War had broken out afresh in La Vendée, the English threatened a descent upon the coast of France, and the army of Italy, wanting in every thing, stood feebly on the defensive under Scherer and Kellermann. The valiant Hoche was intrusted with the command of the army in the west, and he displayed the most profound ability in the conduct of the war. He defeated Charette and made him prisoner, and Stofflet was betrayed into the hands of the republicans. They were both shot, one at Nantes, the other at Angers, displaying the utmost fortitude in the hour of death. Georges Cadoudal and some other chiefs renewed the war in Brittany; but the victorious Hoche speedily conquered them also; the leaders submitted or fled to England; and the Directory announced to the councils the termination of the civil war, July 17.

Pichegru was superseded in the command of the army of the Rhine by Moreau; Jourdan retained that of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse; and Carnot formed a plan of campaign by which these two armies were to march upon Vienna, in conjunction with the army of Italy. The command of this last army was given to Bonaparte, then twenty-six years of age. His eagerness to commence operations drew upon him some remonstrances. It was suggested to him that there were many things wanting in his army necessary to the campaign. "I have enough," said he, "if successful, and too many should I be beaten." He quickly arrived at Nice, and signalized the period of his taking command, March 27, by planning one of the boldest invasions. The army of Italy had hitherto achieved nothing; it was destitute of every necessary and numbered scarcely thirty thousand men; it had only courage and nationality; and with these the youthful hero boldly commenced a career which will ever excite the surprise of the world, and which for upwards of twenty years was crowned with success. He broke up the cantonments, and made preparations in the valley of Savonne for the purpose of entering Italy between the Alps and the Apennines. Before him were ninety thousand troops, the centre of which was under the command of Argenteau, the left under that of Colli, and the right under that of Beaulieu. By prodigious efforts of courage and genius, this immense army was dispersed in a few days. At Montenotte, Bonaparte overthrew the enemy's centre and forced his way into Piedmont; at Millesimo he effected the complete separation of the Austrian and Sardinian armies, which severally hastened to the defence of Milan and Turin, the capitals of their dominions. At Mondovè the fate of Piedmont was decided, and the court of

Turin signified its submission. A peace was speedily concluded between the King of Sardinia and the republic. The occupation of Alexandria, the key of Lombardy; the demolition of the fortresses of Suze and Brunette at the back of France; the abandonment of Nice and of Savoy; and the release of the other army of the Alps, under Kellermann, were the fruits of a campaign of fifteen days and of six victories.

Bonaparte next marched against the Austrians, determined to allow them no respite. He passed the Po at Placenza, and the Adda at Lodi. The bridge over the latter river at Lodi was held by a strong rearguard, consisting of twelve thousand Austrian infantry and four thousand horse, while the remainder of their forces had retired to Cassano and the neighbourhood of Milan. Bonaparte arrived at Lodi at the head of the grenadiers of D'Allemagne, drove the enemy from the town, and drew up his grenadiers in close column under cover of the houses at his end of the bridge. He directed Beaumont with all the cavalry of the army to pass the stream at a ford half a league higher up, and when he found that they had commenced their passage, addressed a few animating words to his soldiers and gave the signal to advance. Twenty cannon at the Austrian end vomited grapeshot upon the column as it moved along the extended and narrow defile of the bridge, shouting "*Vive la Republique.*" The storm of death from the cannon checked the advance for a moment, but the grenadiers finding themselves supported by the tirailleurs, who were wading the stream below the arches, were ashamed to desert the gallant commanders who led them. They rushed forward with resistless fury, carried the Austrian guns, and drove back their infantry. Lannes was the first who reached the other side, Napoleon himself the second. Beaumont pressed gallantly with his horse upon the flank, and Napoleon's infantry forming rapidly as they passed the bridge and charging on the instant, the Austrian line became involved in confusion, broke, and fled. They lost two thousand men and twenty pieces of cannon. By this daring measure it was intended to cut off the rearguard of the Austrians; but though it failed in the accomplishment of that object, it nevertheless contributed to elevate the courage and exalt the character of the republican troops, by inspiring them with the belief that nothing could resist them. At the time when the young general assumed the command, his old soldiers felt somewhat distrustful of him, which led to their meeting after each of his great successes to confer upon him a new step of promotion. He was made a corporal at Lodi, and the surname of the little corporal, thence acquired, has ever since been remembered. The victory of Lodi opened the gates of Milan and put him in possession of Lombardy. Beaulieu was driven into the passes of the Tyrol, and the republican army invested Mantua and appeared upon the mountains of the empire. A new Austrian army, under Wurmser, joined the wreck of the vanquished one, and shared its fate. After being defeated, Wurmser succeeded in throwing himself into Mantua. Bonaparte renewed the siege with redoubled vigour.

Meanwhile, the two armies of the Meuse and the Rhine advanced into Germany, driving the enemy before them. The success of their invasion,



PASSAGE OF THE BRIDGE OF ARCOLE.

however, was lost by an error of Jourdan. The armies had almost achieved the object of their enterprise, Moreau having entered Ulm and Augsburg, crossed the Leck, and pushed his vanguard to the last pass of the Tyrol, when Jourdan imprudently advanced beyond the line. His army was in consequence broken and routed by the Archduke Charles; and Moreau, finding his left flank uncovered, retreated methodically and leisurely through the Black Forest, passed the defiles without confusion or loss, and debouched into the valley of the Rhine rather in the attitude of a conqueror than that of a fugitive. The Archduke Charles, however, defeated him at Emmendingen, drove him from Hohenblau, and forced him to cross the Rhine. He then besieged the fortresses of Kehl and Huningen, but the French defended them until the end of the campaign, and finally, when all resistance was hopeless, capitulated, leaving the enemy masters of heaps of ruins.

The cabinet of Vienna attempted to relieve Wurmser and Mantua, by sending to Italy General Alvinzi at the head of fifty thousand Hungarians. The Austrian superiority of numbers was such that only the most masterly exertions of Napoleon could prevent them from sweeping every thing before them in the plains of Lombardy. A severe but undecisive rencontre took place at Vicenza, and the position of the French general was eminently critical. He attacked the heights of Caldiero without success; and then, by a bold and hazardous movement, threw himself between Alvinzi and his colleague Davidowich, in the morasses near Arcola. The unsafe nature of the ground and the narrowness of the dykes, by which alone he could advance to Arcola, would render victory difficult and defeat disastrous. He divided his men into three columns and charged by the three dykes leading to Arcola, but these narrow passes were obstinately defended. Augereau headed the first column that reached the bridge of Arcola, but was there driven back with great loss. Bonaparte threw himself on the bridge, seized a standard, and urged his grenadiers to renew their charge. But the fire was tremendous and the French gave way. Napoleon, lost in the tumult, was borne backwards, forced over the dyke, and had nearly been smothered in the morass, whilst some of the enemy were already between him and his retreating troops. His imminent danger inspirited the troops more than his fearless example had done; the cry of "Save the general!" was raised; the soldiers rushed forward with irresistible violence, overthrew the Germans, plucked Bonaparte from the bog, and carried the bridge. This was the first battle of Arcola, and was fought on the 15th of November. On the succeeding day both armies manœuvred in such a manner as to render another attack upon Arcola necessary. Again it was bravely defended and more bravely won. But the result of the battle was indecisive. Alvinzi remained unbroken in the difficult country behind, and Napoleon retreated. On the third day, however, the Austrians were routed, and Alvinzi retreated finally upon Montebello. A fourth army had been baffled, yet the Austrians, always greatest in the time of misfortune, diligently forwarded new levies, so that Alvinzi soon found himself at the head of 60,000 troops. (January 7. 1797.)

Napoleon had received but seven thousand recruits to replace all his losses in the last two campaigns. He however marched against the main body under the command of Alvinzi himself, and on the 14th of January, 1797, gained a great victory at Rivoli, where Joubert and Massena particularly distinguished themselves. Alvinzi retreated into the Tyrol; Bonaparte, leaving Joubert to pursue him, hastily returned with reinforcements to Mantua, the siege of which Provera was attempting to raise with another division of the Austrian forces. Bonaparte, however, compelled him to surrender with 5000 of his men, and Wurmser also determined to capitulate. Lombardy was thus placed wholly in his hands, and the Pope, who had incurred the resentment of the French republic, was suffered to remain nominal master of some shreds of the patrimony of St. Peter, after a war which lasted nine days. The troops of the pontificate had been kept in check while the Austrians were being punished by the troops of two republics, which Bonaparte had organized in Northern Italy, the Cispadane and the Transpadane, handmaids rather than sisters of that of France.*

To repeat the story of the campaign against the archduke, were to recite a tale already several times told. Fettered by the Aulic council, Charles was compelled to execute a plan which his own wisdom condemned, while Napoleon, who had triumphed by activity when obliged to act on the defensive, exhibited no less skill and vigour when he himself acted as the assailant. The archduke, defeated on the banks of the Tagliamento, retreated, defending the country inch by inch; in a campaign of twenty days he fought ten battles without success, and then resolved to fall back upon Vienna, and with all the loyalty of the nation make a last stand beneath its walls. But the Austrian councillors, terrified at the news of the defeat on the Tagliamento and the subsequent reverses, ordered the archduke to negotiate a peace. Charles accordingly opened a correspondence, which ended in the provisional treaty of Leoben. (April 18, 1797.)

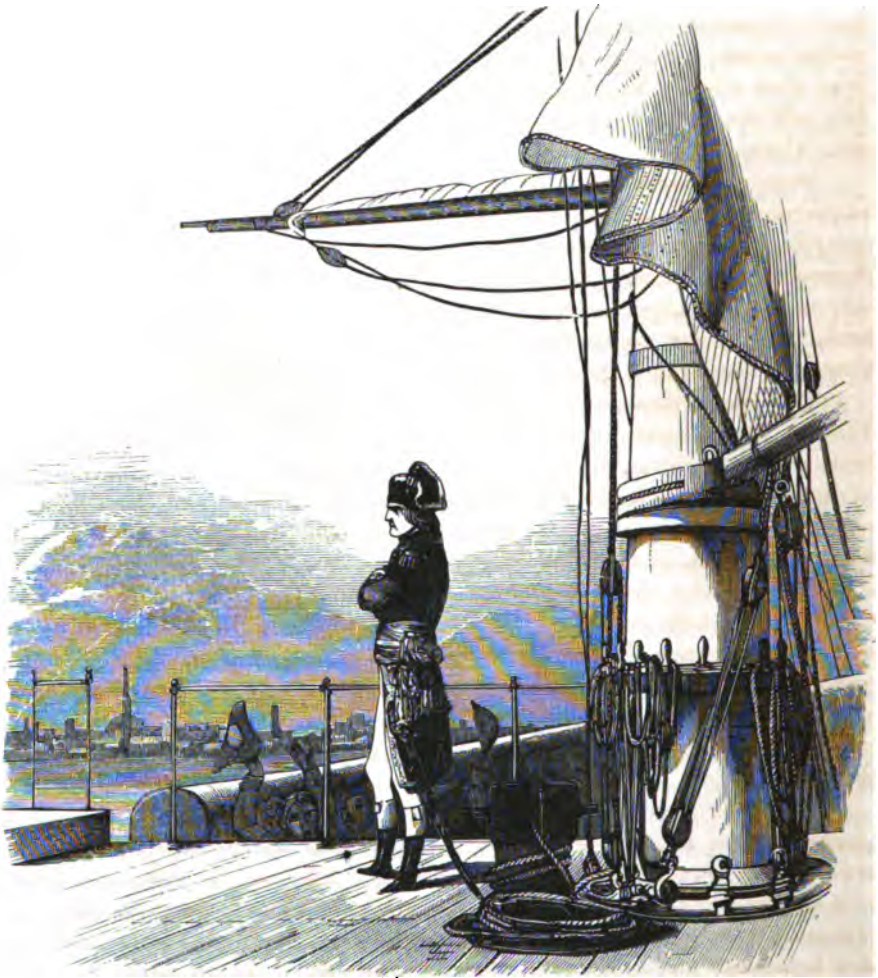
This settled, Napoleon abandoned further negotiations to other diplomats, and hastened to pour out his wrath upon the Venetians, who had commenced warring against the French. The doge and the senate had heard that the archduke had shared the fate of Beaulieu, Wurmser, and Alvinzi, and they hastened to send offers of submission. "French blood has been treacherously shed," said Napoleon; "the lion of St. Mark must lick the dust." In the height of the confusion occasioned by his answer, Bonaparte appeared on the opposite coast of the Lagoon, and some of his soldiers were already in the city when the senate submitted wholly. The conqueror dictated the severest terms. After an independent existence of more than a thousand years, Venice was blotted out of the list of nations. Its territory was soon afterwards divided; France kept the Illyrian isles, and ceded the city itself, with Istria and Dalmatia, to Austria. Mantua, the Bolognese, and Romagna were added to the Cisalpine republic. The release of Lafayette and his companions in misfortune

* Mignet. Alison. Lockhart. Bonnechese.

was also stipulated for. Such was the treaty, glorious for France, to which has been given the name of the peace of Campo Formio. By the congress of Rastadt peace was also imposed on the empire. All the confederated powers had laid down their arms except England, and she was desirous of entering into negotiations for peace. The coalition could be little disposed again to attack a revolution, every administration of which had been victorious; a revolution which, at every fresh hostility, encroached farther on European territory. In 1792 it had only extended to the Netherlands; in 1794 it had advanced to Holland and as far as the Rhine; in 1796 it had overrun Italy and penetrated into part of Germany; and it was probable that, were its march resumed, it would achieve more distant conquests.

But the situation of the Directory was considerably altered by the elections of May, 1797, which returned none but counter-revolutionists or equivocal constitutionalists. The councils immediately attacked the administration and policy of the Directory. Emigrants and refractory priests returned in great numbers, and took no pains to conceal their design of overturning it. The Directory on their part determined to break up the authority of the councils, and caused several regiments from the army of Hoche to approach the capital. The councils broke out into furious menaces, and the Directory retorted by threatening addresses from the armies. Carnot and Barthelemy vainly attempted to restore harmony. A plan was formed by which the councils might obtain the victory. Pichegru was to execute it. Promptness and boldness were necessary to success; Pichegru hesitated—not so the Directory. Barras, Rewbell, and Lareveillere appointed the morning of the 18th Fructidor for the final struggle. On the evening preceding, the troops stationed round Paris entered that city under the command of Augereau, who had come from the army of Italy. The business was completed between four and six o'clock in the morning. With his own hand Augereau arrested Pichegru, Willot, and Ramel in the hall of session, and as the members of the council came hastily to the hall, they were either arrested or refused admittance. Augereau informed them that the Directory had appointed the place of meeting of the Ancients in the Odeon, and that of the Five Hundred in the School of Medicine. Forty-two members of the Five Hundred, eleven of the Ancients, and two Directors, Carnot and Barthelemy, were condemned to be transported to Cayenne. The authors of thirty-five journals were also sacrificed; the laws in favour of priests and emigrants were repealed, and the elections for forty-eight departments annulled. The 18th Fructidor ruined the royalist party, revived that of the republicans, taught the army the secret of its strength, and substituted a dictatorship for the authority of the law. Carnot and Barthelemy were replaced by Merlin de Douai and François de Neufchateau. Bonaparte soon after came to Paris and was granted such honours as had never been paid to any other general.

Notwithstanding the neutrality observed by the Porte, the Directory determined to send an expedition to invade Egypt. Bonaparte was assigned to the command of it, and gladly entered upon his duties, as they afforded him a favourable opportunity for adding to his renown and his popularity; although,



BONAPARTE'S ARRIVAL IN EGYPT.

in regarding it as an honourable exile, he united with the Directory, who felt reassured by the absence of one whom they dreaded. He departed from Toulon with a fleet of four hundred sail, and accompanied by a large body of the most learned men of France. On his way he took possession, through the treachery of the knights, of the island of Malta, and then made sail for the coast of Egypt. He was pursued by a powerful British fleet, under Nelson, who sailed from Toulon to Egypt in a straight course, and arrived off the Nile before the French ships had appeared there. Bonaparte learned off Candia that Nelson was already in the Levant, and therefore ordered Admiral Brueyes to steer not for Alexandria, but for another point of the coast of Africa. Nelson meanwhile turned back and traversed the sea in search of him to Rhodes and

then to Syracuse. On the night of the 20th June the fleets passed each other undiscovered; although for several hours they were but a few leagues distant from each other. Napoleon, thus favoured, reached the Nile on the first of July, and the troops were landed in boats at Marabout, about a mile and a half from Alexandria.

Domestic troubles in Switzerland had afforded the Directory a pretext for interfering with the affairs of that country; Berne, which had given refuge to many French emigrants, was the object of the first attack. The Swiss defended themselves with courage and obstinacy, but canton after canton fell, Geneva was united to France, and the other cantons formed into a republic of the new kind, the Helvetic, nominally the sister and ally, really the slave of that of France. The French general Duphot had been killed in a riot at Rome; in revenge General Berthier took possession of that city, 1799, made Pope Pius VI. prisoner, and was ordered to convey him to France. He was eighty-four years of age, however, and the fatigues and terrors of the journey caused him to die on the way. Rome was converted into a republic, and the Directory saw itself at the head of the Helvetic, Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, and Roman republics, all modelled after that of France. After the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, the Directory had to struggle at home against the general discontent, as well as against the disordered state of the finances, and the intrigues of the republicans, who were found to be not less hostile than the royalists. This party would have effected a counter-revolution, but the Directors by a stretch of power annulled the elections of 1798. By attempting to oppose violence by violent means, however, they were fast losing the support of public opinion.

Meanwhile the English minister, Pitt, persevering in his active hatred against France, had formed a new coalition, into which all the European powers except Prussia and Spain had entered. The French plenipotentiaries were suddenly ordered to quit Rastadt, and within a few hours afterward they were murdered on their journey by Austrian hussars; Jean Debry alone escaping after being left for dead. The Directory determined on vengeance, and by bringing military conscription into action, raised an army of two hundred thousand young soldiers. The King of the Two Sicilies commenced hostilities by expelling the French from Rome. (Nov. 24, 1798.) That enterprise was quickly punished. After three days' slaughter of the lazzaroni, General Championnet got possession of Naples, and proclaimed the Parthenopean republic, January 25, 1799. Joubert took possession of Turin, and when the new campaign opened, the whole of Italy was in the hands of the French. The coalition, however, soon began to push forward its formidable armies through Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, and the aspect of the war was changed. An army of Austrians and Russians, headed by the great Suwarrow, overthrew successively Scherer, Moreau, and Macdonald in Italy. The confederates, under the Archduke Charles, who had defeated Jourdan, then directed their efforts against the barrier of Switzerland, and the Duke of York in Holland headed an Austro-Russian army of 40,000 soldiers. The small republics which sheltered France

were invaded, and after some new victories the enemies of France were enabled to penetrate to the very seat of the revolution. In the midst of these disasters occurred the elections of May, 1799, which, like those of 1798, were republican. Rewbell retired from the Directory, and Sieyès, its most determined opponent, became his successor. The animosity of the councils was chiefly directed against Treillard, who was expelled from the Directory on pretext of informality in his election, and Merlin de Douai and Lareveillere, who, abandoned by Barras, resigned their places. General Moulins and Roger-Ducos succeeded them, and Sieyès laboured thenceforth to get rid of the disorganized government of the constitution, supported by Roger-Ducos in the Directory, by the Ancients in the council, and by the army and middle classes. By means of the army and ~~some~~ chief of great military reputation he hoped to insure the success of his plans, and Bonaparte seemed to him the fittest instrument.

The campaign of that general in Egypt had been scarcely less brilliant than those in Italy. He stormed Alexandria and gave it up for three hours to military violence and rapine; a lesson which struck terror to the hearts of the natives and deterred them from answering to the summons of their military chiefs. But the Mamelukes, a body of cavalry independent of the Porte and of sovereign authority in Egypt, oppressed that country at the time of his landing, and opposed a gallant resistance to his arms. In the first conflict, at Chebreissa, Bonaparte was the conqueror. The second, the ever-memorable victory of the Pyramids, amply repaid the French for the sufferings and fatigues of a two weeks' march over the burning sands and in the presence of light bodies of the finest cavalry in the world. The Mamelukes advanced to the encounter; "Soldiers," said Napoleon, "from the tops of yonder pyramids forty centuries look down upon you," and the battle began. Formed in separate squares, the French were immovable; the Mamelukes, with impetuous speed and wild cries, assaulted them in vain; every means practised to force a passage into the ranks of their new opponents proved futile; they rushed on the line of bayonets, backed their horses upon them, and in desperation dashed their pistols and carbines in the very faces of the men, but the squares were unbroken; the planted bayonet and the incessant roll of the musketry told fearfully upon their numbers. At last Bonaparte advanced upon their camp; they abandoned their works in confusion and terror, and threw themselves by hundreds into the Nile. Multitudes who were drowned increased the loss by carnage. Mourad and a remnant of his Mamelukes retired on Upper Egypt, Cairo surrendered, and Lower Egypt was entirely conquered. The name of the French general spread terror throughout the East, and the "Sultan Kebir," or King of Fire, as he was thenceforth called, was considered as the scourge of God, whom it was hopeless to resist.

While Bonaparte thus elevated to the highest pinnacle the military glory of France, the great Admiral Nelson inflicted a deep wound upon her maritime power by the famous "conquest of the Nile." Admiral Brueyes having imprudently anchored the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, Nelson daringly attacked it with an inferior force. The battle was obstinate; it lasted more than twenty

NAPOLEON ADDRESSING HIS SOLDIERS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF THE PYRAMIDS.





BATTLE OF THE NILE.

hours, including the whole night of the first of August. A solitary pause occurred at midnight, when the French admiral's ship *L'Orient*, a vessel of 120 guns, blew up in the heart of the conflicting squadrons, with an explosion that shook every vessel like an earthquake, and for a moment silenced rage in awe. Brueyes himself perished. Next morning two shattered ships out of all the French fleet escaped into the open sea; the rest of their array had been destroyed or had fallen into the hands of the English. More than three thousand French seamen perished, the best fleet of the republic was destroyed, the blockade of the coast was established, and Bonaparte, isolated from France, was compelled to rely wholly on his own arms and the resources of Egypt.*

"To France," said Napoleon, "the fates have decreed the empire of the land—to England that of the sea;" and he accommodated himself to the decision. After relieving from subjection the Christians called Copts, establishing an institute at Cairo, and quelling an insurrection which was raised against him in that city, he set out for the conquest of Syria, intending from thence to penetrate into India and strike the English at the root of one of the sources of their power. After traversing sixty leagues of burning desert, he reached Gaza, which opened its gates. Jaffa was carried and St. Jean d'Acre invested. But Sir Sidney Smith had captured the vessels which carried the heavy artillery and stores of Napoleon from Egypt, and being now intrusted by the Pasha with the defence of Acre, he turned them to his own account. During sixty days

* Lockhart.

Bonaparte exhausted all the resources of military science in his endeavours to obtain possession of this fortress, but the gallant Englishman defended it with equal skill and better fortune. The French were surrounded by hosts of Turks, but they were defeated at Nazareth by Junot, and by Bonaparte in the celebrated victory of Mount Tabor. Seventeen furious assaults had been made upon the town without success, the plague had broken out in the army, and a Turkish fleet bearing succours to the garrison was at hand. Yielding therefore to stern necessity, Bonaparte raised the siege and returned to Egypt. At Cairo he learned the alteration in the situation of the Directory. The Chouan or civil war in the west and south had again broken out; Italy except Genoa was lost; Joubert had been killed at the bloody battle of Novi, gained by Suwarrow, and Brune and Massena with difficulty opposed the march of the enemy through Holland and Switzerland. This intelligence determined him to repair to France and overthrow the Directory. He was preceded by the news of another brilliant victory. An army of eighteen thousand Turks landed in the bay of Aboukir; Bonaparte fell upon it and annihilated it. Immediately afterwards he set out for France, leaving Kleber in command of the army of Egypt; crossed the Mediterranean in the frigate *Le Mucron*, escaped as by miracle the English fleet, and landed in the Gulf of Frejus, on the 9th of October, 1799, immediately after the celebrated victories of Zurich and Berghen, gained, the first by Massena over the Austrians, and the other over the Duke of York by Brune. Bonaparte traversed France not so much like a general who had quitted his post without orders, as a victorious sovereign returning to restore the lost hopes and fortunes of a people who confided only in him.

At Paris he received proposals from the moderate party, headed by Sieyès, and the democrats, led by Barras, both of whom desired his assistance. He decided on closing with those of the former, as less likely to interfere with his measures when the new government—*his* government—should be established. Having come to an understanding, Sieyès and the victorious general immediately applied themselves to the overthrow of the constitution. With this view the generals, with the exception of Bernadotte, were gained over, as was also the garrison of Paris. On the 18th Brumaire—9th November, 1799,—Regnier, one of the conspirators, procured a declaration from the council of the Ancients that the legislative body should be transferred to Saint Cloud, that its deliberations might there be more free than in Paris. The execution of this measure was intrusted to Bonaparte, who was invested for the occasion with the command of the division of Paris. This placed him at the head of the military power: the authority of the Directory and the legislative councils still existed. Sieyès and Roger-Ducos proceeded from the Luxembourg to the legislative and military camp of the Tuileries and delivered their resignations. The other Directors attempted to use their authority and secure the protection of their guard, but the latter refused obedience. Barras then sent in his resignation and set out for his estate of Grosbois. The Directory was virtually dissolved and but one antagonist remained.

On the 19th Brumaire the legislative body repaired to St. Cloud, accompa-

nied by an armed force. As soon as the session of the Five Hundred opened, a motion made by one of the conspirators became the signal for a violent tumult, which ended in all taking the oath of allegiance to the republican constitution. Should this occur also in the council of the Ancients, Bonaparte would be deserted and defeated. He therefore repaired to the chamber of that body, and when summoned to take the oath to the constitution, he declared that it no longer existed; that it was the watchword of all factions, and had been violated by all; that being no longer respected, it must be replaced by another compact and other guarantees. The council approved his address, and he attempted by his presence to appease the stormy council of Five Hundred. But his presence, and the sight of the bayonets in the hands of the grenadiers whom he left at the door, impressed the members with the fear of military violence, and they all joined in the cry, "Outlaw him! down with the dictator!" Fearless before the fire of an enemy, the great chieftain was disconcerted by the menaces of a deliberative assembly: he turned pale, became perturbed, retired, and was borne off by the grenadiers who had served him for an escort. The tumult continued to rage in the chamber, where Lucien, the brother of Napoleon, was president, and attempted his defence. But the outlawry of the tyrant was on all sides called for, and Lucien quitted the chair, divested himself of the insignia of his office, and was carried out of the chamber by a guard sent for that purpose by Napoleon. Sieyès, who was better able to conduct a revolution than himself, advised a resort to force. Both brothers harangued the troops, the one as president of the Assembly, the other as conqueror of Italy and Egypt; and when Napoleon demanded, "Soldiers, can I depend upon you?" "Yes, yes," resounded on all sides. Bonaparte immediately ordered the council of Five Hundred to be expelled from their chamber. Murat led a troop of grenadiers into the hall. "In the name of General Bonaparte the legislative body is dissolved. Let all good citizens retire. Grenadiers, advance!" The shouts of indignation which arose in answer to this pithy proclamation were drowned in the rolling of the drums: the grenadiers advanced with presented bayonets along the whole length of the hall, the deputies flying before them and escaping by the windows, amid shouts of *Vive la Republique!* That republic no longer existed but in name.



MURAT.



CHAPTER XV.

The Consulate and the Empire.

POLITICAL events now advanced with a more steady march. On the 13th December, 1799, the new constitution was announced. The republican forms were preserved, and the government in appearance was intrusted to a council of three persons, appointed for ten years and decorated with the title of Consuls. These were Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Le Brun. The other bodies were a Conservatory Senate, contrived by Sieyès to be the guardian of the public liberties, a tribunal of one hundred members, whose business it was to discuss such forms of law as the government laid before them, and a legislative body of three hundred members, who gave their vote without any



PASSAGE OF THE GREAT ST. BERNARD.

previous debate. Bonaparte seized the reins of government with a firm hand, abrogated several of the revolutionary laws, amalgamated its different parts into a system, and by degrees organized the most complete monarchical power. By his orders peace was concluded with the Vendéans and the Chouans in the West, and the affection of the people conciliated by the restoration of religion, which he effected by means of a Concordat with the court of Rome, July 15, 1801. He was no sooner placed at the head of the government than he proposed to make peace with England by means of a letter, addressed, contrary to diplomatic etiquette, to King George III. himself. But Pitt was determined to employ all the resources of England to overthrow the despotism which the First Consul was establishing in France.

General Melas, at the head of the Austrian troops, opened the campaign of 1800 in Italy in the most splendid manner. In consequence of the victory which he gained over Massena at Voltri, April 10, the latter was obliged to throw himself into Genoa, where he sustained a siege of six weeks with great courage; fifteen thousand of the unfortunate inhabitants of the city being said to have perished by famine or disease during the blockade. Melas left General Ott with thirty thousand men before Genoa, and marched against the division under Suchet. He entered Nice and prepared to pass the Var and penetrate into Provence. Then it was that Bonaparte came to restore the fortunes of France, in pursuance of a plan which he had sketched, which is considered as the most daring and masterly of the campaigns of the war, and which, so far as the execution depended on himself, turned out also the most dazzlingly successful. He assembled a very contemptible force at Dijon, which was named as the rendezvous of the army of reserve for the relief of Genoa, and as the Austrians had intelligence of this body only, they listened to the project of the re-establishment of the glorious army of Italy with derision. But Napoleon had spent three months in recruiting armies throughout the interior of France, and the troops were already marching by different routes, each ignorant of all the others' destination, upon the territory of Switzerland. When all was ready, he set out to take the direction of affairs from the hands of Berthier, who, however, retained the nominal command. At Dijon he went through the ceremony of a mock review to deceive still further the Austrians, and thence went immediately to Geneva. Marescot presented him with an appalling picture of the difficulty of passing by the Great St. Bernard into Italy. "Is it possible to pass?" said Napoleon, abruptly. "The thing is barely possible," was the answer. "Very well—let us proceed," said the First Consul, and an army, horse and foot, laden with all the munitions of a campaign, a park of forty field-pieces included, were urged up and along the airy ridges of rock and eternal snow, where the goatherd, the hunter of the chamois, and the outlaw smuggler are alone accustomed to venture; amid precipices where to slip a foot is death; beneath glaciers where the percussion of a musket-shot is often sufficient to hurl an avalanche; and across bottomless chasms caked over with ice or snow-drift. The guns were dismounted, grooved into the trunks of trees hollowed out so as to suit each calibre, and then dragged on by sheer muscular

strength—a hundred soldiers being sometimes harnessed to a single cannon. The descent was scarcely less perilous and difficult than the ascent, and their advance was suddenly checked by the fort of Bard, which commanded completely the valley of Aosta. But the great skill of the French engineers and the inflexible will of the Consul overcame this obstacle, the capture of Ivrea by Lannes followed, and the whole army, thirty-six thousand strong, was assembled there on the twenty-eighth of May. Lannes gained a victory at the bridge of Chiusilla, about the same time that Melas made an ineffectual attempt to force the passage of the Var. Learning the truth concerning the army of reserve, he set about concentrating his forces. Massena, whose soldiers had eaten their shoes and knapsacks, and had nothing whatever left to devour, at length surrendered Genoa, but only on condition of being suffered to proceed with arms, ammunition, and baggage to join General Suchet. Meanwhile Milan had been taken and the Cisalpine republic restored in form. Ott, coming to the aid of Melas with the force left disposable by the taking of Genoa, was defeated in a terrible battle at Montebello by Napoleon's advanced guard under Lannes, who covered himself with glory. (June 9th.) Five days after this victory, the First Consul finally crowned his brilliant expedition by the glorious victory of Marengo. The Austrians were completely routed. Unable to force the passage of the Bormida by a victory, they were now without the power to retreat, placed between the army of Suchet and that of the First Consul. On the 15th they obtained permission to retire beyond Mantua, on condition of surrendering all the towns in Piedmont, Lombardy and the papal dominions. Thus, in a campaign of forty days, Bonaparte again obtained possession of all Italy. Eighteen days after the battle of Marengo he returned to Paris.

The war with the Chouans had apparently ceased, but it was followed by conspiracies. Bonaparte escaped, as if by a miracle, the explosion of an "infernal machine" in the Rue St. Nicaise, the authors of which were royalists, though Fouché, the minister of police, at first attributed the attempt to the democrats. One hundred and thirty of the latter were transported by decree of the senate; but the real conspirators were afterwards discovered and special military tribunals created for their trial. The despotic tendency of Bonaparte's measures in regard to this affair led to a separation between him and the constitutional party. Moreau had conducted the war in Germany with great skill. His victories there, particularly that of Hohenlinden, accelerated the conclusion of peace; which was signed at Luneville, on the 8th January, 1801, between France, Austria, and the Empire. Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Portugal, Bavaria, and Russia made treaties, and the treaty of Amiens, signed on the 25th of March, 1802, by England, Spain, and the Batavian republic, completed the pacification of Europe.

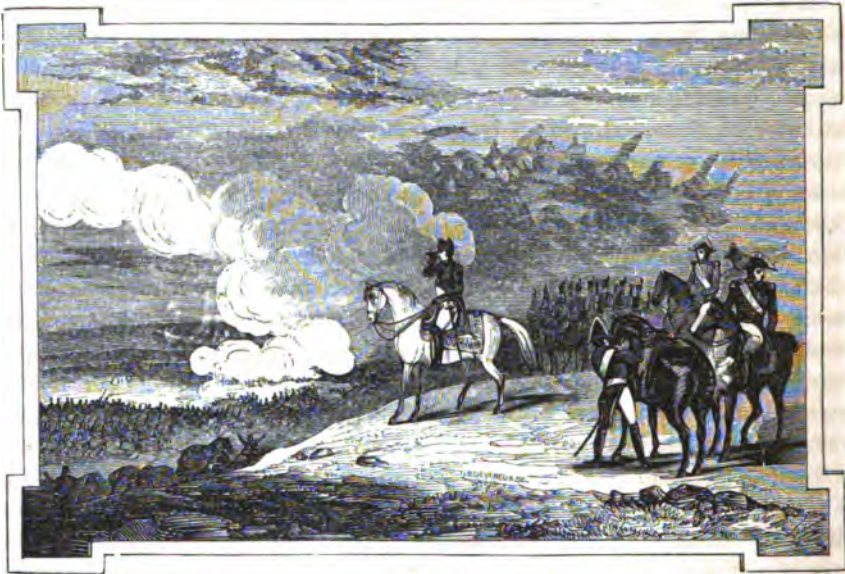
Freed from foreign cares, Napoleon attempted to subject the island of St. Domingo, and an army of 40,000 men was sent thither under General Le Clerc; but sickness made havoc in the ranks, and the island was given up as lost. Egypt had in the preceding year been conquered by the English. Bonaparte

endeavoured to establish his power in France by linking it with the prosperity of the state. The roads, ports, and arsenals attracted his attention and occupied his care. At Flushing and Antwerp he ordered immense maritime works, reorganized the polytechnic school, developed the resources of trade, promoted commerce, and declared himself the protector of private interests. A civil code which was now propounded, and published in 1804, was a monument of genius and became the model of legislation throughout Europe. He founded the order of the Legion of Honour and declared himself its head. His consulship was prolonged for ten years more, then decreed to him for life, 2d August, 1802. A new constitution was established, which stripped the people of all remains of power, and the council of state, reconstructed by Bonaparte, received a more vigorous organization and more extensive attributes. The war with England was renewed, in consequence of mutual aggressions in June, 1803. England called all her naval force into action, and seven French armies occupied respectively Italy, and the camps of Bayonne, St. Malo, St. Omer, Bruges, Boulogne, and Holland.

About the same time, a second and formidable conspiracy against the life of the First Consul was discovered. Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, Moreau, and other royalists were at its head. Cadoudal was punished with death, Moreau banished, and Pichegru strangled in prison. The Duke d'Enghien, the most amiable of the Bourbon princes, being believed to be concerned in this conspiracy, was seized in the territory of Baden, hurried to the castle of Vincennes, tried by a military commission, and shot.

This conspiracy and the war with Great Britain contributed to assist Bonaparte in elevating himself from the consulate to the empire. The senate addressed him, praying that he would govern the nation under the name of Napoleon Bonaparte and with the title of hereditary Emperor. Napoleon assented; the empire was proclaimed and the constitution correspondingly changed. Pope Pius VII. came to Paris and consecrated the new dynasty with all the ancient usages, in the church of Notre Dame, 2d December, 1804. Joseph and Louis Bonaparte were made French princes, and eighteen marshals of the empire were created.

To emulate the career of Charlemagne now became the great object of Napoleon's ambition. With this view he added the title of King of Italy to that of Emperor of the French, apparently at the instance of the representatives of the Cisalpine republic. At Milan he put on his head the iron crown of Lombardy, and appointed his stepson, Eugene Beauharnois, viceroy of Italy. Genoa and Lucca were also added to the empire. Repassing the Alps, he returned to Paris, and shortly afterwards set out thence for Boulogne, where he was preparing a maritime expedition against England. Alarmed by his ambition, Pitt, who after an intermission had again resumed the direction of the affairs of that country, organized a new coalition between England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. (1805.) Bonaparte received intelligence that two hundred and twenty thousand Austrians were advancing in three bodies towards the Rhine and the Adige, and that two hosts from Russia were on



BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ.

the march to join them. He quitted Boulogne, passed the Rhine on the 1st of October, and advanced into Germany with one hundred and sixty thousand men, while Massena opposed the Archduke Charles in Italy. The Danube was crossed and Bavaria occupied. His marshals emulated the Emperor in boldness and success. Murat triumphed at Vertingen, Dupont at Hasslach, and Ney at Echlingen. General Mack was surrounded and compelled to surrender with thirty thousand men at Ulm; in consequence, the gates of Vienna flew open, and Napoleon entered that city on the 13th of November. The Emperor Alexander in person had assembled the Russian army in Moravia, and its numbers were swelled by Austrian divisions to 80,000. Napoleon led his soldiers to meet this new enemy, who, he told them, "had been brought from the ends of the world by the gold of England." He further stimulated the ambition of his troops by informing them that the Russian infantry bore the highest character, and that the question was then to be settled whether the infantry of France was the first or the second in Europe. The question was decided at Austerlitz. The French had eighty thousand men under arms; the allies ninety-five thousand. The battle was commenced at sunrise, December 2d, 1805, and by one o'clock in the day the most brilliant victory ever gained by Napoleon, and that in which his military genius shone forth with the brightest lustre, had completed the campaign. The loss of the allies was immense. Thirty thousand men were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, a hundred and eighty pieces of cannon, four hundred caissons, and forty-five standards remained the trophies of the victor's triumph. The Emperor issued

a congratulatory address to his army on the following day. "Soldiers, I am content with you. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. When every thing necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country is obtained, I will lead you back to France. My people will again behold you with joy; and it will be enough for one of you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' for all your fellow-citizens to exclaim, 'There is a brave man.' In terror at this dreadful overthrow, the Emperor Francis sued for an armistice, which was granted, and the Russians, who might have been destroyed, obtained permission to retire by a prescribed route and in a given time. The battle of Austerlitz was followed by the peace of Presburg, by which Austria ceded Dalmatia and Albania to the kingdom of Italy, and a great number of its possessions to the electorates of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, which were erected into kingdoms. Joseph Bonaparte was seated on the throne of Naples, and his brother Louis was made King of Holland. The kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria, the Grand-duke of Berg, and other sovereigns of the west of Germany, were now associated into a grand alliance, under the style of the "Confederation of the Rhine." Napoleon added to his other titles that of Protector of this confederation, and the princes of the league were bound to place 60,000 soldiers at his command. The fairest Germanic provinces were thus transformed into so many departments of the all-engrossing empire of Napoleon; Francis declared the imperial constitution at an end, and retained the title of Emperor as sovereign of his own hereditary dominions.*

But the year 1805, so fruitful in triumphs for France on the continent, beheld likewise the ruin of her navy. The combined fleets of France and Spain under Admiral Villeneuve, beaten on the 22d of July at Cape Finisterre, also lost on the 21st of October the celebrated battle of Trafalgar. This victory, which marks the proudest day in the annals of the British navy, was gained after one of the sternest contests by Lord Nelson, who took nineteen ships of the line and rendered seven of those which escaped into Cadiz unserviceable. Four French ships fled from the action, escaping only to be captured a few days afterwards. This victory, though it annihilated the French and Spanish marine, was dearly purchased by the loss of the unconquerable Nelson, who fell mortally wounded early in the action.

Previous to the battle of Austerlitz, Prussia had 150,000 men under arms, but the conduct of the court of Berlin was extremely vacillating. Napoleon viewed her with enmity and distrust, and said, when congratulations on his victory were sent by the King of Prussia, "Here is a message, the address of which has been altered by circumstances." He resolved upon a war with the Prussians, but at this moment purchased her quiescence by a bribe, the possession of Hanover, the hereditary territory of the royal family of England, which the house of Brandenburg did not hesitate to accept. But Pitt having died, and Fox succeeding to the control of English affairs, Napoleon ineffectually renewed negotiations for peace, in the course of which he offered the restora-

* Alison. Lockhart.

tion of Hanover. This, with other causes, induced Prussia to rush into a war with as much precipitation as she had shown reluctance in the Austrian campaign. The forces of the Prussian king invaded Saxony and compelled the elector to join his troops with theirs; but the French were quickly in motion under their beloved Emperor. Napoleon turned the wing of his enemy, got into his rear, and destroyed Naumberg, the chief place of deposit for the Prussian stores and magazines, and thus reduced the astonished and isolated king to the necessity of cutting his way through the enemy to his own frontier. He led one division in person; the command of the other was given to Mollendorf; the conduct of the whole being confided to the Duke of Brunswick. The former moved towards Naumberg, and was met by Davoust at Auerstadt; that of Mollendorf attempted to force a passage through the French line near Jena. On the 14th of October, the battles of Jena and Auerstadt were fought. Lannes, Augereau, Soult, and Murat carried destruction into the enemy's ranks at Jena, broke up their army completely, and drove them, horse and foot promiscuously mingled in the confusion of panic, along the road to Weimar. There the fugitives met their terrified brethren flying as confusedly as themselves from the bloody and disastrous field of Auerstadt. On one day Prussia lost twenty thousand of her troops, three hundred guns, twenty generals, and sixty standards. The routed divisions roamed about the country, seeking to escape, but everywhere falling into the hands of the enemy an easy prey. Mollendorf was captured at Erfurt; Kalkreuth's corps in the Hartz mountains; Eugene of Wurtemberg and 16,000 men at Halle; Hohenlohe with 20,000 at Prenzlau, and Blucher with his corps, after a severe action at Lubeck, surrendered at Schwerta. Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Hamelen, Magdeburg, Berlin—all fell; Louis Bonaparte conquered to the Weser, Jerome Bonaparte subdued Silesia; the Poles were excited to rise. The Prussian monarchy was almost annihilated, and its conqueror, after visiting the tomb of the great Frederic and taking possession of his sword, marched against the Russians into Poland. On the 7th of February was fought, with equal loss on both sides, the bloody battle of Eylau: in that of Friedland, which occurred on the 14th of June, the Russians were crushed. After this memorable day, Alexander entered into a negotiation, and peace was concluded at Tilsit, July 7th. By this pacification, Saxony and Westphalia, augmented by great portions of the Prussian territory, were erected into kingdoms, and the latter given to Jerome Bonaparte; and the confederation of the Rhine was extended to the Elbe.

England continued to resist Napoleon, who strove to force her to terms by annihilating her commerce with Europe. On the 21st of November, 1806, he had issued from Berlin the famous decree, creating the continental system, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade, and extending the seizure of British merchandise to every Englishman found on the territory of France, or those of the countries she had conquered, or of the states which acknowledged the dominion of her allies. This decree disturbed all Europe, and involved Napoleon in a series of violent measures and gigantic operations which eventually occasioned his downfall.

England, determined to preserve a footing on the coasts of the Baltic, demanded of Denmark an alliance, offensive and defensive, and as a guarantee the delivery of her fleet and capital. The king refused compliance, and an expedition highly discreditable to England was sent, without a declaration of war, to bombard Copenhagen and carry off the Danish navy. This iniquitous and barbarous violence caused Denmark to adhere to the continental system, and Russia followed her example. Alexander and the Danes then assaulted Sweden, the ally of England; Gustavus, her sovereign, giving evidences of insanity in his conduct, was dethroned, and succeeded by his uncle. The entire shores of the Baltic submitted to the French yoke. Some months before the Ottoman Porte was at war with Russia and an ally of Napoleon; the English had attempted to subdue it, but without success. But a single state in Europe now acknowledged the direct influence of Great Britain. That state was Portugal; and Napoleon, who had assumed the right of disposing of the destinies of nations, signed at Fontainebleu, September 27, 1807, a treaty with Spain, by which Portugal was to be entirely shared between the King of Etruria and Godoy, Prince of Peace, who governed the Spanish monarchy; Charles IV. of Spain being acknowledged as Suzerain of the two new states. A proclamation announced that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign," Dec. 13, 1807; Junot, with twenty-eight thousand French, carried the sentence into execution. The prince-regent of Portugal fled to Brazil. The kingdom of Portugal secured, intrigues were set on foot in Spain. Ferdinand compelled Charles IV., his father, to abdicate in his favour; but a French army under Murat entered Madrid, and the aged king protested against his involuntary abdication. "Napoleon alone must decide between the father and the son," said Murat, and the Emperor came to Bayonne as arbiter. The royal claimants also came thither at his summons; Napoleon, master of their persons, first decided for the father, and then compelled him to abdicate in his own favour. The crown was transferred to Joseph Bonaparte, whose kingdom of Naples was given to Murat. But the Spaniards flew to arms in the cause of Ferdinand VII.; the French fleet at Cadiz was compelled to surrender, as also the army of Dupont at Baylen. Portugal revolted, and an English army landed there under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. Junot, with only ten thousand men, risked a battle against twenty-six thousand English and Portuguese at Vimiera. He was beaten, and shortly afterwards signed the convention of Cintra, which left him at liberty to return to France with honour. (1808.)

Determined to subdue Spain, Napoleon strengthened his alliance with Alexander by negotiations at Erfurt, in September and October, 1808, and then marched into the peninsula at the head of a large army of veterans. His presence quickly changed the aspect of affairs. His eagles triumphed at Burgos, Espinosa, and Tudela; and Madrid opened again her gates to Joseph. Sir John Moore had arrived with large reinforcements and taken the command of the English troops; he advanced as far as Salamanca, but was obliged to retreat. At Corunna he fought a battle with Soult, for the purpose of covering



WELLINGTON.

the embarkation of his troops; he fell in the action, January 16, 1809; but Soult was repulsed, and the English gained their ships in safety. Encouraged by the resistance of the Spaniards, the court of Vienna again resolved on war, and hostilities were commenced in Bavaria. Davoust, with an inferior force, held the Archduke Charles in check with great difficulty. Napoleon flew to the Rhine, triumphed at Eckmühl and Ratisbon, and entered a second time as conqueror the capital of Austria. On the 22d of May, 1809, the bloody and indecisive battle of Essling was fought on some islands in the Danube. Here the Emperor sustained a severe loss in the death of the brave Lannes. His fall was speedily avenged, however, by the terrible overthrow of the enemy at Wagram, where twelve hundred pieces of cannon swept the ranks of the hostile armies. The vanquished Francis was constrained to purchase peace by the sacrifice of additional territory. Pope Pius VII. had given countenance to the enemies of France, and threatened Napoleon with the thunders of the Vatican. The French entered Rome; the Pope realized his menace by a bull; he was dethroned from his temporal sovereignty and consigned to captivity, while Rome was made the capital of a French department. During this campaign a formidable army was landed by the English ministry in Holland, but the expedition proved abortive. Under the mild and paternal sway of Louis Bonaparte, the kingdom of Holland had become, notwithstanding the decrees of Napoleon, an entrepot of British merchandise, and the Emperor, who would

brook neither hesitation nor opposition, dethroned his brother and incorporated the kingdom with the empire, which extended from Hamburg and Dantzic to Trieste and Corfu. Napoleon, who had hitherto followed an inflexible policy, committed a great error in deviating from it by contracting a second marriage. He divorced Josephine in order to give an heir to the empire, and married Maria, archduchess of Austria, March 30, 1810. Thereby he gave up his character of a self-raised and revolutionary monarch, who was labouring in Europe against the ancient courts, as the republics had done against the ancient monarchies; and placed himself in an awkward position relative to Austria, which he ought either to have crushed after the victory of Wagram, or to have restored to its former dignity and possessions after the marriage with the archduchess. While he neither deprived Austria of the power nor the desire of continuing her enmity towards him, he changed the character of his empire and separated it from the popular interests; he sought for ancient families to grace his court, and he did all in his power to blend the original nobility with that of his own making, as he had already done with the old and new dynasties. Austerlitz had confirmed the *plebeian* empire; Wagram was to establish the *noble* empire. The birth of a son in March, 1811, who received the title of King of Rome, seemed to give solidity to the empire of Napoleon by assuring him of a successor.

During the years 1809, 1810, and 1811, the war in Spain was pushed with vigour. Sebastiani triumphed at Ciudad-Real, Victor at Medelin, and Soult at Oporto, where twenty thousand Portuguese were left on the field of battle. Saragossa was besieged with success, but so valiantly was it defended by Palafox that twenty thousand of its garrison and inhabitants perished beneath its ruins. Still the Spaniards fought with energy and enthusiasm, and the English ably seconded their efforts. Joseph and Wellesley fought on the 28th of July the indecisive battle of Talavera, which the English, however, celebrated as a victory. Sebastiani triumphed on the 21st of August at Almonacid, Mortier with twenty-five thousand men overthrew fifty thousand Spaniards at Ocana, November 19, Andalusia was open to the French, yet Spain was unsubdued. In 1810, Granada, Malaga, and Seville were occupied by the French; but Cadiz, now the seat of government, was secured against them. Massena sustained the war in Portugal against Wellington, whose army was greatly superior to that of the French; but the success of the campaign was compromised by a misunderstanding which arose between Massena and Ney. The French commander, however, marched upon the capital; but he was beaten at Busaco, and his progress was finally arrested in December by Sir Arthur Wellesley before the formidable lines of Torres Vedras, which covered Lisbon. After a month's inaction he fell back to Santarem, closely followed in his retreat by the allies. A sharp action occurred at Fuentes d'Onoro, where Massena was worsted; and the allies in consequence gained possession of the town of Almeida. Badajoz having been captured by Mortier, Sir W. Beresford laid siege to it. Soult advanced with 23,000 men to raise the siege; the allies, to the number of 26,000, gave him battle at Albuera, May 16, and were victorious.

Wellesley, now the Duke of Wellington, renewed the siege, but retired across the Tagus on the approach of Soult and Marmont. In Andalusia, the British,



MASSENA.

under General Graham, gained a victory over the French at Barrosa. The French, however, had the advantage in the north of Spain, and Wellington, at the close of the campaign, retired again to his lines in Portugal. In 1812 the operations of the combatants were resumed with spirit. Wellington reduced Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz. Salamanca also fell, and Marmont was defeated in its vicinity, July 22. Madrid, Seville, and Valladolid were recovered by the English, but Wellington failed in an attack on Burgos.

Russia, meanwhile, had become weary of a supremacy to which she aspired herself; shut up within her

own limits, she remained without influence and without acquisitions, suffering all the evils of a blockade without sharing in the spoils. This state of things could not be expected to continue. After the year 1810, the cabinet of Russia augmented its armies; in 1811 it renewed its commercial relations with Great Britain, and Napoleon declared war, June 22d, 1812. The project of the Emperor was to reduce Russia by the creation of the kingdom of Poland, as he had reduced Austria by the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, after Austerlitz, and Prussia by those of Saxony and Westphalia, after Jena. The re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland was proclaimed by the diet of Warsaw, but in an incomplete manner, and Napoleon wishing to terminate the war, according to his custom, in a single campaign, advanced into the heart of Russia instead of prudently organizing the Polish barrier against it. On the 24th of June he passed the Niemen and took possession of Wilna and Witepsk. He fought the Russians at Ostrowno, Polotzk, Mohiloff, Swolensk, and at the Moskowa, and made his public entry into Moscow on the 14th of September. But he was astonished at the solitude which reigned within its walls; all the streets were deserted by their inhabitants. The conqueror entered unresisted the ancient citadel of the Kremlin, and rejoiced that his army had found an asylum from their fatigues and sufferings. He found immense resources within the city, and here, therefore, he resolved to establish his winter quarters. But during the night a frightful conflagration broke out. Rostopchin, the Russian governor, had determined, on evacuating the city, to make an immense sacrifice for the salvation of his country. At an appointed signal by his order, a band of convicts spread themselves throughout the city, with firebrands in their

hands. They applied the flames to a thousand places; Moscow crumbled away in a few hours, leaving the Emperor master of a heap of cinders and ruins. Alexander detained him there forty days with offers of peace. At length the negotiations were broken off and Napoleon commenced his retreat. "Your day of warfare is ended," said the old Russian general Kutusoff; "ours is to begin." The winter set in suddenly and with more than usual vigour, even in the heart of Russia. The French, paralysed by the cold, were pursued and harassed in their retreat by innumerable enemies, and their frozen and mangled bodies covered the road. They marched, however, in tolerable order as far as the Beresina, which they crossed in the presence of three Russian armies. Here again were achieved prodigies of heroism; but nearly half the army perished before the formidable barrier was cleared. The cold setting in afresh, the moral as well as physical strength of the soldiers was beaten down, and the retreat was thenceforth one vast and frightful rout. Napoleon had lost in this campaign, not by defeat, but by cold and famine in the midst of the solitudes and the snows of Russia, his grand army and the illusion of his fortune. Alexander had already concluded a league with Sweden, whose councils were directed by the French marshal Bernadotte, who had been chosen crown prince and adopted by Charles XIII. as his son. Prussia was next roused to resistance. The Emperor, whom the confederates believed to be entirely vanquished, opened the campaign notwithstanding with new victories. The battle of Lutzen, gained on the 2d of May, 1813, with conscripts, the occupation of Dresden, the victory of Bautzen, and the war carried to the banks of the Elbe, astonished the coalition. Austria had been about to join the enemies of the Emperor. She now, however, changed her purpose and made offers of mediation. These offers were accepted, and a treaty was attempted to be made at Prague; but Napoleon refused to accept the terms proposed to him; Austria threw herself into the arms of his enemies, and hostilities recommenced. Napoleon had two hundred and eighty thousand men to oppose to five hundred and twenty thousand, yet notwithstanding this disparity, victory at first seemed to second him. He was successful at Dresden, where he beat the united allies, but the reverses sustained by his lieutenants defeated his plans. Macdonald was vanquished in Silesia, Ney near Berlin, Vandamme at Kulm. The princes of the confederation of the Rhine deserted him at this moment; the defection of the Saxons and the Wurtembergers on the field caused him the loss of the battle of Leipsic; and though he defeated the Bavarians at Hanau, when they would have prevented him from recrossing the Rhine, the campaign ended not less disastrously than the preceding. Holland threw off the yoke and recalled the Prince of Orange. Spain was lost to France by the victory of Wellington over Jourdan at Vittoria, June 21, 1813, and the armies of the peninsula, vainly opposed by Soult, entered France.

The immortal campaign of 1814 now opened. The Emperor had found discontent in the legislative body, hitherto silent and submissive: the harbinger of internal defection. He obtained from the senate a levy of three hundred thousand men, and made preparations for the campaign with the greatest

ardour. The Austrians were advancing into Italy, the English had passed the Bidassoa under Wellington and appeared on the Pyrenees, an allied army of 150,000 men had passed into France under Swartzenberg by Switzerland, that of Silesia under Blucher, and numbering 130,000, had entered it through Frankfort, while that of the north, a hundred thousand, under Bernadotte, invaded Holland and Belgium. Deprived of the support of the people, who merely looked on, Napoleon stood alone against the world with a handful of veteran soldiers and his genius, which had lost nothing of its audacity or its vigour. It was a grand spectacle to contemplate him at this moment; no longer an oppressor, no longer a conqueror, defending foot by foot with new victories the soil of his country, his empire, and his renown. He marched in person against Swartzenberg and Blucher. Maison was to check Bernadotte in Belgium; Augereau the Austrians at Lyons; Eugene was to defend Italy, and Soult was to oppose the English on the Spanish frontier. Dexterously placing himself between his two opponents, he flew from one army to another, and beat them both in succession: he defeated Blucher at Champaubert, at Montmirail, at Chateau-Thierry, and at Vauchamps, and he overthrew the Austrians at Montereau and drove them before him. But his generals were everywhere else unsuccessful; Murat joined the coalition; and defection and misfortune overturned all Napoleon's plans. By a bold march he threw himself into the rear of the invaders, but they marched to Paris, and took possession of the line of defence which protected that city on the 30th of March after a severe contest. On the succeeding day the city capitulated, and on the 2d of April the senate decreed that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the crown, that the hereditary right in his family was abolished, and the people and army released from their oaths of fidelity. On the 6th, the Bourbon prince, Louis XVIII., was proclaimed, and on the 11th, Napoleon, convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance, signed an act of unconditional abdication, and shortly after set out for his new principality of Elba, where he was to enjoy a pension of six millions of francs and retain the imperial title. The Pope and the other sovereigns who had been deprived of their dominions were restored, and all Europe was again at peace.

But the restored sovereign and his advisers reverted to the despotic principles of the old monarchy, exercising power as though the revolution had never happened. They consigned the army to obscure garrisons, supplanted their eagles with the fleurs-de-lis, and caused the soldiers to substitute for the tri-coloured the white cockade, or to cover the one with the other. The task of the government was one of great difficulty, and it acted without union, intelligence, or vigour. At the same time the congress of Vienna, assembled for the distribution of the spoils of the empire, shared out nations like cattle, on the basis, not of territorial extent, but of the number of inhabitants in each city and in each country. Murat, fearing that he would lose his kingdom of Naples, turned again to the man he had abandoned, invited him into Italy, and promised him vigorous aid. But Napoleon needed no such instigation. He had many friends in Paris, and was acquainted with all the faults of power and all

the symptoms of popular irritation. He had determined to make another effort to recover his lost greatness. On the 26th of February, 1815, he committed himself to his fortunes, embarked from Elba, and landed on the 1st of March, with 1000 of his old guard, at Cannes, near Frejus. Advancing to Grenoble, he was met by a detachment of seven hundred men, who occupied a defile in his front and cut off the approach to that town. The officer in command refused to parley and threatened to fire on Napoleon's party. The Emperor advanced alone and on foot within hearing of his troops, opened his riding coat, and thus addressed them :—"Soldiers, it is I! Look upon me! If there be a man amongst you who would slay his Emperor, behold him here! He comes, with uncovered breast, to offer himself to your weapons." Admiration and enthusiasm took possession of their breasts, the memory of Lodi shot across their minds, and they shouted unanimously, "Long live our Little Corporal! We will never oppose him." The two bodies fraternized and marched under the same standard upon Grenoble. Colonel Labedoyere had vowed a sort of worship to Napoleon, and shortly afterwards led his regiment to fight beneath the eagles. Ney, at the head of the army of the Bourbons, led away by the example of his soldiers, threw himself into the arms of his old general. All endeavours to rally the troops to the support of Louis were vain; in Paris itself they gave no response to the cry of "*Vive la Roi*." Louis XVIII. knew well how to interpret their apathy; on the morning of the 20th of March he fled from the Tuileries; Napoleon entered it on the evening of the same day, once more master of France. He had conquered the kingdom, without a drop of bloodshed, in twenty days. Some parts of France, however, fell into a state of civil war, and the congress of Vienna declared the Emperor to be without the social pale. A million of soldiers were about to be poured into France; and Napoleon made gigantic efforts to be able to meet the storm. He endeavoured to strengthen his popularity by engaging to govern as a constitutional sovereign; but all his attention was quickly turned to military measures. He hurried across the frontiers at the head of about 125,000 men, in the hope of overthrowing Wellington and Blucher, each of whom held the command of ninety thousand. These attacked separately and overthrown, he would make head against Austria and Russia. On the 16th of June, a bloody battle was fought around the village of Ligny on the plain of Fleurus, where the Prussians were defeated with the loss of twenty-two thousand men. The retreat of the Prussians compromised their safety; and Wellington retired to the celebrated field of Waterloo. General Grouchy, with thirty-six thousand of the French troops, was ordered to keep back Blucher and the Prussians, while Napoleon engaged the forces of Wellington. Bonaparte's intention was to cut through the centre of the English; and his artillery poured such a destructive fire upon the enemy that they found it expedient to retire behind some elevations on the plain. They advanced again with reinforcements, and the work of carnage was continued with terrible devotion, but without advantage, till about six o'clock in the evening. Bonaparte, expecting every moment the arrival of Grouchy on the flank of the English, made sure of the victory. At length he

was informed that the Prussians were approaching the right wing of the French; the English called up their reserve of cavalry, the Prussians commenced a cannonade on the French flank, and Wellington sent a body of hussars to charge the cavalry. But though exposed to the whole united fire of the British, Belgians, and Prussians, the French stood like a rock. The charge of the hussars being repelled, Lord Anglesey brought up two regiments of Life Guards, composed of the finest and strongest men in England, and mounted on steeds of superior size and strength. He led them to a tremendous charge, threw the centre of the French into disorder, and reached almost to the spot where Napoleon stood. The confusion thus created was increased by the advance of the allies; the old soldiers of the Imperial Guard fully sustained their motto, "The Guard dies but does not surrender;" but the younger troops, finding their lines broken and the Prussians, English, and Belgians advancing on every side, were seized with a panic and began to fly. The army was disorganized; the brave were borne away by the torrent of cowardly or treacherous fugitives: the battle was lost and the fate of the empire decided. The English were unable to pursue the fugitives, but the sanguinary Prussians, gladly undertaking the task, followed and massacred all who fell into their hands. Sixty thousand men fell victims in this dreadful conflict. Napoleon, despairing of his fortune and shunned by the bullets, to which he vainly presented his breast, abandoned the wreck of his army to the charge of Soult, and returned to Paris to announce in person that all was lost. From Paris he retired to Malmaison, whence, finding that his enemies would listen to none of his propositions, he set out for Rochefort, with the intention of sailing to America. But the port was so blockaded by English cruisers that it was impossible to go out without being recognised and captured. Deluded by a strange infatuation, Napoleon flattered himself that, by an act of noble confidence, he might triumph over the national animosity of the British. He presented himself with his suite on board an English ship, the *Bellerophon*, whence he wrote to the prince-regent of England, demanding permission to sit down like another Themistocles, by the British hearth, and claim the protection of the British laws. The reply to this exhibition of greatness was an order to convey the illustrious captive to the rock of St. Helena, thenceforth his retreat, his prison, and his tomb. He died there on the 5th of May, 1821, surrounded by a few faithful friends. His disease was of the liver, and its progress was hastened by the influence of an unwholesome climate, and by the brutality and severity of his jailer, Sir Hudson Lowe, in whom the Emperor saw, to use his own words, "an executioner sent to assassinate him, a man wholly without a heart, and merely capable of discharging the office and duties of a jailer."*

Napoleon, according to Bonnechose, held human nature in contempt; most men were in his eyes no more than ciphers, whose value was represented by the services he could cause them to render. He loved war as a professed gambler loves the game in which his skill is pre-eminent. Like the gambler,

* Montholon.

too, he risked every day the gain of yesterday, and had himself to reproach for almost all his disasters. The restoration of order in France and innumerable useful creations of his genius constitute his true titles to glory; but the comparison of the good which he did with that which he might have done, had he been governed by none but moral and patriotic views, must ever weigh upon his memory as a subject of heavy reproach. His ambition twice laid his country open to the invasion of foreign arms; and the calamities by which those invasions were followed, and the blood of two millions of men shed in innumerable combats during his reign, have taught France how heavy a price the glory of a conqueror costs. Let us, however, hope that she may not have suffered so deeply without some future benefit being derived to humanity therefrom. Napoleon, in the course of his triumphant march throughout the nations of Europe, at the head of kings and princes and powerful chiefs, all sprung from the ranks of the people, scattered wherever he passed certain notions of equal rights, which have in our day become the basis of political freedom; and, in his double catastrophe, by twice drawing into France the armies of combined Europe, he introduced the most distant nations to a higher civilization, which will doubtless hereafter establish new links of connection between them and his countrymen, and be the remote means of effecting a greater harmony between the social institutions of all. Such was the spell of this marvellous man, that, at the distance of eighteen hundred leagues from Europe, he still filled it with the echoes of his name. His great image loomed afar, from his solitary rock in the ocean, an object of terror to some and of hope to others. His death hurried some of these latter into rash and desperate enterprises, whilst in delivering their adversaries from a salutary fear, it left them at liberty to abandon themselves with less of prudence and reserve to their reactionary and disastrous inclinations.





VICTORIA.

CHAPTER XVI.

History of Europe since the Restoration of the Bourbons.



THE terror of "legitimate" sovereigns, Napoleon, being exiled, Louis XVIII. ventured to return to France and remount the throne. A treaty was made between France and the allies, circumscribing her by the same boundaries which formed her limits in 1789. Her strongest forts were to be garrisoned by the allied troops; she was to be kept quiet during three years by an army of 150,000 foreigners within her boundaries; to pay seven hundred millions toward the expenses of the war; and indemnify England for the merchandise confiscated by Napoleon. Marshal Ney and Labedoyere were tried and shot for having joined the Emperor on his return from Elba. In Avignon, Marseilles, and Lyons blood flowed freely in consequence of the royalist reaction, and the chamber of deputies disgraced itself by yielding to this passion and giving a free rein to violence. Tyrannized over by the royalists and a host of foreign soldiers, and borne down by the weight of the public burdens, the school of liberal men who held liberty to be an inherent right of human nature, and who founded its doctrines upon reason, the public interest, and the general will, rapidly increased. The

aim of the liberals was to give to the greatest possible number a participation in political rights; that of their opponents, the royalists, to extend aristocratic influence at any cost. Both parties took advantage of whatever was obscure or ill-defined in the charter sworn to by Louis at his restoration—the royalists to destroy—the liberals to obtain more than it meant to promise. An invincible repulsion naturally existed between the fundamental opinions of these two parties; and it was, perhaps, impossible that a permanent order of things could be established in France under a dynasty linked by all its ancient recollections, by its affections, and even by gratitude itself, to men who sought to construct the future out of the materials of the past,—whilst the nation over whom that dynasty reigned taught its rights and its power by an age of revolutions, rejected their principles, and adopted wholly the system founded and defended by its adversaries. The struggle between the more violent men of these opposing parties continued for fifteen years, beginning at the abdication of Napoleon and ending with the downfall of the Bourbons in 1830. In the outset the royalists had the advantage, and in consequence of the moderation of the king they retained their ascendancy until his death. This event occurred on the 16th of December, 1824. Louis XVIII. was succeeded by his brother, the Count d'Artois. Personally, the late king had been attached to the constitutional compact, which he looked upon as his own work, and guided by which he passed through times of great difficulty and was enabled to escape many shoals. Yet few will doubt that, while clinging to it as an anchor of safety, he was influenced rather by a regard to his own repose and greatness than by any real solicitude for the liberties, the glory, or the prosperity of France.

The new sovereign, Charles X., was no sooner seated on the throne than he entered upon the same path which had led Louis XVI. to destruction. He had been the adviser of that unfortunate prince in all his most unpopular acts. The bleeding image of his brother was always before his eyes, but he perverted the lesson it ought to have taught him. Louis XVI., he said, had been brought to the scaffold by always giving way: and forgetting that the art of government consisted in the judicious and timely use both of concession and resistance, Charles himself imagined that the only way to save his head and his crown was by never yielding at all. He immediately identified himself with the royalists. The popular voice imposed liberal ministers upon him, but he submitted with a bad grace to their direction of affairs, and determined, in case the same popular breath should condemn them, to revert to ministers of his own choice. Such an event as he believed happened, when two unsatisfactory bills presented by the ministers to the councils were defeated without discussion by a union of the most violent royalists and democrats. Charles, on the 8th of August, 1829, took the fatal step of dissolving his cabinet and appointing a new one, at the head of which was Prince Polignac, an extremely unpopular personage. The chamber when it met voted an address moderate and respectful toward the king, but asserting their opinion that the composition of the new ministry was dangerous to the public liberties. The king answered by dissolving the chamber, but the will of the nation was immutable; the election returns showed

the ministry that they would have to face a majority more compact, more impatient, and more hostile than the last; a majority, however, which sought not the overthrow of the king, but the preservation of the charter. But to be a friend to the constitution in the eyes of the court was to be a foe to the monarch, and the men who wished for the charter along with the Bourbons were driven by the prejudice of the Bourbons themselves to unite with the revolutionists, who wished for the charter without the Bourbons. The new chamber was summoned to meet on the 3d of August, 1830, but on the 26th July the king issued the famous ordinance which annulled the late elections, abolished the freedom of the press, and created a new electoral system. These ordinances destroyed the charter and dissolved all ties between the nation and the throne. On the day of their publication all Paris murmured; on the succeeding day it acted. A thousand barricades were thrown up amid cries of "Vive la Charte!" and everywhere the royal emblems and symbols of the monarchy were torn down. Marshal Marmont, invested with the command-in-chief, directed the troops against the populace, but La Fayette appeared in their midst, displaying in his venerated hand the tri-colour. The National Guard, which Charles X. had dissolved, responded to the summons of this apostle of freedom, and rallied beneath the popular colours. Every street and square became a glorious battle-field to the Parisians; and after a sanguinary struggle of three days, the public liberties triumphed and the people returned to their repose. The royal forces having been compelled to evacuate the city, a provisional government was instituted, at the head of which was the Duke of Orleans, with the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. On the 2d of August, Charles X. signed an act of abdication in favour of the Duke of Bourdeaux, and on the 10th of August embarked at Cherbourg for England. The deputies called to the throne Louis Philippe of Orleans, and his descendants in the male line for ever. He took an oath on the 9th of August to observe the constitutional charter, to govern by the laws only and according to the laws; to cause true and strict justice to be done to every man according to his rights; and in all things to act with a view solely to the interests, the happiness, and the glory of the people of France.

Though very young at the period of the first revolution, Louis Philippe adopted the national colours and gave indisputable proofs of his attachment to public liberty by his efforts in the first of those great battles which shed such lustre on the arms of France. Afterwards proscribed, he presented himself among strangers, not, like many others, as a suppliant, nor as an enemy of his country, but as the possessor of an honourable independence earned by the exercise of his own talents. Restored to his titles and dignities, he had braved for sixteen years the coolness of the court, and occupied himself with giving his sons a popular education. He had ever been the friend of all who were eminent in science, literature, and law. Under his sway, sedition and civil war are unknown to France; the country is in possession of guaranteed liberties—the object of the strife and battles of forty years; the education of the lower classes has received a wide extension; and the yearly increase in the revenue, while

it attests the improving condition of those classes, offers at the same time the best security for future internal tranquillity.*

In Great Britain, besides the exertions made for the purpose of defending the ancient institutions of France, the principal event which marked the reign of George III. was the legislative union with Ireland, effected on the first day of the present century. The people of that country, however, viewed the abolition of their national legislature with discontent, and have been ever since making efforts for the repeal of the union. The intellect of George III., after suffering several temporary aberrations, became so disordered at the end of 1810 that it was necessary to appoint a regent. The Prince of Wales was appointed to that dignity, and when the king died, January 29th, 1820, he succeeded to the throne as George IV. The most notable event of his reign was the passage, under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington, of a bill for the emancipation of the Catholics from the penal laws before enforced against them. Under William IV., who succeeded in 1830, a reform bill was passed, which placed the elective power chiefly in the hands of the middle classes, and slavery was abolished throughout the British colonies, twenty millions sterling being given to the planters as an indemnification. In 1837 King William was succeeded by Queen Victoria, the year of whose accession was marked by a rebellion in Canada, which was, however, speedily suppressed.

The French revolution of 1830 encouraged two attempts to be made for securing national independence; one in Belgium, the other in Poland. The Belgians were successful; the union of their country with Holland was dissolved, and Belgium, recognised by the European powers as an independent kingdom, received, as king, Leopold of Saxe Coburg. (July, 1831.) The Polish revolution broke out in the military school of Warsaw. The patriotic pupils were joined by the army, formed a provisional government, and compelled the Archduke Constantine to resign his authority. But the hosts of Russia were poured into the devoted country; the Poles, under Adam Czartoriski, made a gallant but unsuccessful defence; their inferiority of numbers was too great, and the enemy entered their capital in triumph, 8th September, 1831. Numbers of the patriots were sent to Siberia; while others only escaped that punishment by a voluntary exile.

Spain and Portugal have presented a scene of almost incessant turmoil since the Bourbon restoration. In 1820, Ferdinand VII. of Spain was compelled by an insurrection to adopt the constitution of 1812, to the exclusion of his despotic principles. A civil war broke out in 1823, in which Ferdinand was assisted by a French army, and the patriots were forced into compliance. Ferdinand, having abrogated the salic law in favour of his daughter, Isabella, left the crown to that infant at his death, and appointed the queen-mother regent. (1833.) The late king's brother, Carlos, claimed the throne, and a sanguinary civil war broke out, which continued until 1840. The queen-regent relied for support upon the liberal party, and received aid from France and

* Bonnechose. Russel.

England. When the pacification of 1840 was effected, she laid down her authority, and the regency was given to General Espartero, duke of Vittoria. He was driven into exile in 1843, and the country reverted into a state of disorder and uncertainty. John VI, of Portugal returned to his kingdom in 1821. On his death in 1826 the crown fell to Don Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, who resigned it in favour of his infant daughter Maria, and appointed his brother, Don Miguel, regent. Miguel, aiming at the uncontrolled sovereignty, got himself appointed king by the Cortez in 1829. Pedro sailed to Europe, and with the aid of France and England, and after a struggle of two years, he succeeded in compelling Miguel to leave the kingdom. Donna Maria was shortly after declared of age, took an oath to support a liberal constitution, and assumed the exercise of royal authority.

Germany and Prussia, since 1815, have advanced steadily in the career of prosperity. Russia, under the sway of Alexander and his successor, Nicholas, 1825, rejoices in the imperial measures taken for her internal improvement and the increase of her power, and the other northern kingdoms have been steadily advancing in prosperity in consequence of the peaceful condition of the age. In Greece, however, the remembrance of their ancient renown, and the example of the other nations of Europe, caused an insurrection to break out in the Morea and Archipelago in 1820. Volunteers from all parts of Europe flocked to the aid of the insurgents, and expressions of sympathy were received from all the world. For six years a barbarous and sanguinary struggle was waged without decisive results; the governments of Europe being somewhat disposed to avoid interference, on the ground of its being a rebellion against legitimate authority. But when the sultan of Turkey called in the aid of his powerful vassal, Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, England, France, and Russia combined to procure the independence of Greece. The Turco-Egyptian armament, having violated an armistice, was annihilated by the combined fleets of the allies at Navarino. In consequence, the sultan declared war against the three powers; and the Russians invaded his territories, and after a short but bloody war forced him to make peace. He signed a treaty on the 14th of September, by which he recognised the independence of Greece, granted considerable advantages to Russia, and guaranteed the payment of the expenses of the war. Thus the long series of internal disorders of Greece were terminated; it was erected into an independent kingdom, and the crown confided to Prince Otho of Bavaria. Since his accession to the throne, the commercial and agricultural resources of the country have been considerably augmented; but his system of government and finance is far from being well adapted to the peculiar features of the Grecian character and the state of a country which has recently emancipated itself from centuries of slavery by a sanguinary revolution.



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The History of Colonization.



COLUMBUS'S voyages and the previous ones of the Northmen to America have already been noticed. A double discovery closed the history of adventure in the fifteenth century; the discovery of a new world and a new route to India. Between the years 1508 and 1510, Hayti, Cuba, and Jamaica were conquered and colonized by the Spaniards, who worked the mines and tilled the soil by the compulsory labour of the natives, who sank under the hardships to which they were subjected, and, by dying, diminished their own numbers and the profits of their masters. The natives being found inadequate to undergo the exhausting labours imposed upon them, their taskmasters were obliged to seek servants elsewhere, and hence originated the African slave-trade. More important conquests were opened by the intrepidity of Balboa, who had founded a small settlement on the isthmus of Darien. Fernando Cortez, a commander possessing great skill and bravery, but exceedingly bigoted and unscrupulous, sailed with an armament from Cuba to the harbour of San Juan de Ulloa, which he entered on the 2d of

April, 1519. Montezuma, chief of the Aztecs, a tribe which had emigrated from a country north of California, had extended the Aztec dominions on one side to the Pacific, on the other to the Gulf of Mexico; but it must be stated that many tribes within this tract yielded a reluctant obedience, while some others retained their independence. Cortez with his forces, numbering in all 700 men, was met at Vera Cruz by ambassadors from Montezuma the younger, sent to command him to withdraw from the country. The Spanish leader refused to return until he had communicated with the Emperor in person, and proceeded at once to the capital. Having here got possession of the person of Montezuma, Cortez attempted, by using him as a tool, to effect the subjugation of the empire. But the inhabitants rose against the invaders; in a battle against them fought in the city of Mexico, Montezuma was placed in the ranks of the Spaniards and killed by his own subjects. Cortez, however, was compelled to evacuate the city and retreat to Tlascala. Here he reorganized his forces, took into his service a large body of friendly Indians, built brigantines to be employed in the navigation of the lake Tezcuco, and again pushed forward to the city. It was captured after a siege of seventy-five days, and its fate decided that of the empire. Province after province submitted to the Spaniards, whose power was soon extended over the whole realm of the Montezumas. Cortez, on his return to Spain, was received at first with honours and rewards, but his court favour soon declined, and the office of Captain-General of Mexico was refused him. He engaged in various adventures suited to his ardent and determined spirit, and died at Seville, 1553.

Mexico became a subordinate kingdom, governed by a Spanish viceroy, with powers nearly equal to those of the sovereign; Spaniards received the preference in all offices of trust and profit; the natives being in fact excluded from all civil and ecclesiastical appointments. Native manufactures and agricultural productions were discouraged, to benefit those belonging to the mother country, and all church officers were made dependent on the king and not on the pope. Under this execrable system, Mexico remained a blank for three centuries in the history of nations, and was known only by its produce of the precious metals. But the news of the abdication of Charles VI. of Spain, in 1808, gave a shock to the royal authority from which it never recovered. The natives and coloured population asserted their claim to the rights of freemen, which was opposed to the *audiencia* or Mexican court of final appeal. An open insurrection against the European authorities broke out in 1810, headed by Hidalgo and Morelos, two priests of New Spain. A national congress was assembled in 1813, the independence of Mexico was declared, and a sanguinary guerilla warfare was commenced. At length, in 1821, Iturbide, heretofore a royalist, declared suddenly in favour of the patriots, and published the celebrated Manifesto of Iguala, in favour of a constitutional monarchy. His cause became popular; the enthusiastic support of the nation enabled him to put down completely the Spanish government and form a national congress. That body made him Emperor of Mexico, under the title of Augustin I. By using military force to dissolve the congress he excited opposition among the

people, who compelled him to abdicate the throne. He was suffered to leave the country and allowed an annual pension of £5000 for his past services, but was decreed an outlaw in case of his return. He did return, however, clandestinely, was discovered, arrested, and executed.

The congress was reassembled on the expulsion of Iturbide, and a government was modelled on that of the United States, but the hopes then formed of its stability have proved fallacious; repeated attempts at revolution have ever since convulsed the country. The parties in the struggle for independence were known as imperialists and republicans; these became merged into the factions of centralists and federalists; the former advocating a single superintending government, the latter that of the independent government of states, federally connected. This struggle between the rival parties has continued nearly twenty years, and has been a fruitful source of insurrection. Texas declared herself independent of the confederacy, and commenced a struggle for a national existence in the year 1835. The contest was decided with the overthrow by General Houston of the Mexican president Santa Anna, at the famous battle of San Jacinto, April 21st, 1836. There can scarcely be said to be any regular government in Mexico: one military leader or popular demagogue holds sway to-day; the successful revolt of another may dash all his prospects to-morrow. The bonds of society are all loosened, property insecure, and life not safe from assassination and violence. The annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845 led to an unfortunate war between the latter power and Mexico, which absurdly claimed sovereignty over the territory of Texas; and Mexico, as it exists at present, affords one of the most melancholy examples that modern history has presented of an extensive, fertile, and well-situated region being reduced through anarchy and misgovernment to a state bordering on barbarism.*

The discovery of a passage round Cape Horn by Magellan, and the establishment of a colony at Panama, after Balboa had discovered the nature of the isthmus, incited the Spanish adventurers to undertake new conquests. That of Peru was planned and executed, A. D. 1531, by Pizarro, one of the most enterprising men that ever visited the new world. By a deliberate massacre of the unoffending and hospitable people he possessed himself of the person of the Inca Atahualpa, who was sentenced to death after having paid an enormous ransom. The perfidious invaders, however, quarrelled over the spoils, the Peruvians made repeated insurrections, and the kingdom was almost lost. Pizarro fell by the hand of Almagro, a Spaniard, whose father he had put to death, and great confusion arose from this crime. It was not till a quarter of a century had elapsed that the royal authority was firmly established in Peru. The government there established was far more iniquitous and oppressive than that of Mexico, the mines being worked by a horrid and fatal system of conscription. In 1540 the Spaniards, under Valdivia, added Chili to their possessions in Peru. The revolution which separated Peru and Chili from Spain broke out in

* M'Culloch. Taylor.

1810. It resembled the war of independence in Mexico in its general feature, and was finally completed at the surrender of the last Spanish garrison, at Callao, February 26, 1826. The chief agent in the liberation of the Spanish provinces of South America was Simon Bolivar, in honour of whom Upper Peru was erected into an independent nation, with the title of Bolivia. In Lower Peru the Bolivian constitution was unpopular, and Peru and Colombia were soon separated from Bolivia. The latter state is the only one of the three which has profited by its liberation; the others have been involved in perpetually recurring vicissitudes. The states of the Rio de la Plata, long dependent on Peru, had separated themselves from the Peruvians at the close of the revolution, on account of differences in language, manners, and habits, and had formed themselves into the Argentine republic. In 1827 a war broke out between the republic and Brazil, in regard to the possession of Uruguay, which was erected into an independent state in 1828. More recently the republic of La Plata has been involved in difficulties with Bolivia and France, whilst she is torn by internal dissensions. It needs but a few years of repose to develop the abundant natural resources of La Plata, and cause her to become a flourishing country, but her accumulated difficulties appear likely long to retard the march of her prosperity.

The first discovery of Brazil was probably made on the 26th of January, 1500, by the Spaniards under Pinzon, the companion of Columbus; but owing to disputes between Spain and Portugal regarding its possession, it was not settled until 1549, when a Portuguese expedition founded St. Salvador. Various towns sprung up along the shore, and notwithstanding the hostilities of the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, the colony advanced steadily until it was brought under the Spanish dominion by the union of Portugal with Spain, 1580. This dominion was terminated in 1640 by the revolution which placed the house of Braganza on the throne of Portugal. Brazil, by her wealth and resources, enabled the abject and impoverished mother country to maintain an independent existence. In 1808 the prince-regent of Portugal, John VI., and his court came to Brazil, which then ceased to be treated as a colony; it was raised to the dignity of a nation, and the process of amelioration in its financial and commercial condition was rapid. The Portuguese revolution of 1820 operated beneficially in Brazil, where the movement was consummated in 1822 by the dissolution of the ties which bound the colony to Portugal. Don Pedro, the crown prince of Portugal, by favouring the revolutionists, was declared Emperor of the free and independent state of Brazil, but difficulties arose and he abdicated in favour of his son, a minor in 1831, whose rights have hitherto been preserved, and internal tranquillity has been successfully maintained. At present Brazil appears to have a fair prospect of advancing rapidly in social prosperity and political importance.

Paraguay was first brought under European control by Jesuit missionaries, who were so successful in making converts, that they in a short time became masters of the country. They endeavoured to perpetuate their dominion by excluding all foreigners from the country, and infused a jealousy of strangers

into the natives. After the Jesuits were expelled, 1768, the fabric they had constructed fell to pieces, and Paraguay was almost unnoticed until it entered into the revolutionary movement of the South American states; in 1813 it was declared a republic under two consuls, and in the following year Dr. Francia, the second consul, got himself made sole dictator for three years, and at the expiration of that time for life. The government is an anomaly in the present times. Dr. Francia enacted the part of Sylla at ancient Rome; he was the commander-in-chief, the head of the church, of the laws, and of every branch of the administration: his caprice was the law of the land, and his punishments were as barbarous as his policy was tyrannical and oppressive. His successors continue the same policy.

The English had early made explorations along the coasts of North America. The Venetian, John Cabot, and afterwards his son Sebastian, made important voyages in the service of Henry VII. of England, but the following reign, that of Henry VIII., was unfavourable to nautical enterprise, and for many years the English occupied themselves only in useless efforts to discover a northwest or northeast passage to India. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that any permanent settlements were effected. The first of these was made at Jamestown, in 1607; the colony thus planted being called Virginia, the name given in honour of Queen Elizabeth to the whole country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude. Six years later the settlement of New York was begun by the Dutch on Manhattan or New York island. These settlers were speedily compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King of England, whose subjects in 1664 conquered the Dutch and occupied the colony. In 1620, the colony of Plymouth was planted by English Puritans, and eight years after, under a grant from the Plymouth company, the colony of Massachusetts was established at Salem. In 1692, Plymouth and Massachusetts were incorporated together. New Hampshire was begun to be settled in 1623 at the mouth of the Piscataqua river. It came under the government of Massachusetts in 1641, but was erected into a separate province by a royal ordinance in 1679. New Jersey was settled by Danes in 1624, conquered by the Dutch governor of New York, Peter Stuyvesant, 1655, and occupied by the English after the fall of New Amsterdam, 1664. At the time of the conquest of New Jersey, Stuyvesant also extended his victorious march over Delaware, which had been settled by the Swedes in 1627. Delaware likewise fell into the hands of the English in 1664. The first town in Maine, York, was founded in 1639, but this province was united to Massachusetts in 1652, and formed part of it until 1820. Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, planted the colony of Maryland, at a place at the mouth of the Potomac, called St. Mary. A company from Massachusetts begun in 1635 the first settlement in Connecticut, at Hartford. The colony of New Haven, commenced at the town of the same name in 1638, was incorporated with Connecticut in 1662. Providence, the origin of Rhode Island, was founded by Roger Williams in 1636, after he had been driven from Massachusetts by the intolerance of his religious opinions. Settlers from Virginia established themselves on lands

north of Albemarle Sound, between 1640 and 1650, thus founding what became in 1729 the province of North Carolina. In South Carolina, the first settlement was made in 1670 at Port Royal; this was abandoned for another site, and that in its turn was forsaken in 1680 for the place where the city of Charleston now stands. Pennsylvania, founded by William Penn in 1682, grew with greater prosperity and rapidity than any other of the colonies; a result to be attributed to the mildness and equity of its founder and early governors. Georgia was colonized in 1733 at Savannah.

In 1643, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven banded themselves together to protect themselves against Indian hostilities and Dutch encroachments, under the style of "The United Colonies of New England." This was the commencement of the unity in will and deed which afterwards enabled the colonists to achieve successfully the great work of independence. In 1675 and 1676 New England suffered severely in an Indian war, brought about by the superior abilities of the Sachem king Philip, whose death in the latter year ended hostilities. Commercial restrictions and oppressive taxes in Virginia led to a rebellion, known as "Bacon's Rebellion," from the name of its leader, an ambitious man who seized and held the supreme authority for several months. His rebellion was ended by his death. The succession of rulers and changes of dynasties in England were severely felt by the colonies, and though the accession of William of Orange freed them from the oppressions they had endured under his predecessors, it involved them in the war between France and England, known in the colonies as King William's War. This war lasted from 1690 to 1697, and was marked by savage atrocities on the part of the French and Indians. They were again exposed to these in Queen Anne's War, 1702 to 1713, which originated in disputes about the boundaries. The declaration of war by England against France and Spain, involved her colonies in hostilities with the French, Spanish, and Indians. This war proved extremely disastrous to the Americans, who signalized themselves, however, by a show of remarkable vigour. During its continuance they fitted out an expedition with little aid from Great Britain, and captured the important fortress of Louisbourg. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle gave peace to the colonies, but it was again broken by the encroachments of the French upon the lands watered by the Ohio. George Washington was sent against them with an expedition from Virginia, in compliance with the directions of the British government to resist the aggressions of the French by force. He was met, however, by a greatly superior enemy and compelled to capitulate, with the privilege of returning with his troops to Virginia. This was the commencement of the Seven Years' War, or the *Old French War*, as it is commonly styled, although hostilities were not openly declared until 1756. In 1755, the forces of the colonies subdued the French in Nova Scotia, and took possession of that province. General Braddock led a force of British and colonists against the French on the Ohio, but his rashness and arrogance caused his destruction. He was surprised and defeated with great loss by the united forces of French and Indians; Braddock himself was mortally wounded, and his detachment

was only saved from total destruction by the exertions of Colonel Washington, who commanded the colonial forces. In the north, the French were defeated on the borders of Lake George. In 1756, the French, under Montcalm, were so successful that the British government made great preparations for the campaign of 1757, yet it also proved disastrous. In 1758, however, William Pitt assumed the direction of affairs; Louisbourg was taken, with great loss to the French of prisoners, ships, and munitions of war. Fort Du Quesne was abandoned by the French and occupied by the English. Its name was changed to Pittsburg. Fort Frontignac, an important fortress at the outlet of Lake Ontario, was captured, though an expedition against Ticonderoga failed. That fortress, with Crown Point, fell in the following year. General Prideaux captured Niagara, and the gallant Wolfe was no less successful in the great enterprise of taking Quebec. The acquisition, however, was dearly purchased with the life of the conqueror, who died on the field of battle. This event virtually ended the war; the French, after making an unsuccessful attempt to recover Quebec, surrendered successively all the places in their possession, and by the treaty of Paris in 1763, Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and all islands in the gulf and river St. Lawrence were ceded to the British crown.

The presence of enemies in their French and Indian neighbours had hitherto led the colonies to look to Great Britain for protection, and had it continued, would for a long time have precluded all thoughts of independent existence. But as Wolfe died in the moment of triumph, so the power of the British on this continent received its death-blow in the event that destroyed its rival. The removal of the French power suggested a vague idea of freedom and independence to the colonists; the thought that their arms and their prowess had effected it gave them a consciousness of strength; the aspirations after freedom increased with the added military strength, until, when the councillors of the British monarch put forth arbitrary pretensions upon America, they rose with arms in their hands, and succeeded in establishing their own claims to free government.



GENERAL WOLFE.



CHAPTER XVIII.

The United States.



THE history of the United States, as colonies of Great Britain, is given in the preceding chapter. To pursue the parliamentary history from the conclusion of the French war to the declaration of independence, or to recount in detail the operations of that war, would be to follow a beaten track, to repeat what have become household words to every American. We will therefore but briefly enumerate the more remarkable events of the War of Independence, commencing with the passage of the Boston Port Bill, March, 1774, for prohibiting all commercial intercourse with that town, on account of its spirited resistance to the principles involved in the tax imposed upon tea by the British parliament. This, with another bill for subverting the charter of Massachusetts, caused the assembly of a general congress, which passed a declaration of rights and suspended commercial intercourse with Great Britain until their grievances should be redressed. Their addresses proved ineffectual; warlike stores were collected, and the people began to arm. In 1775 parliament proceeded still further with oppressive measures, while the

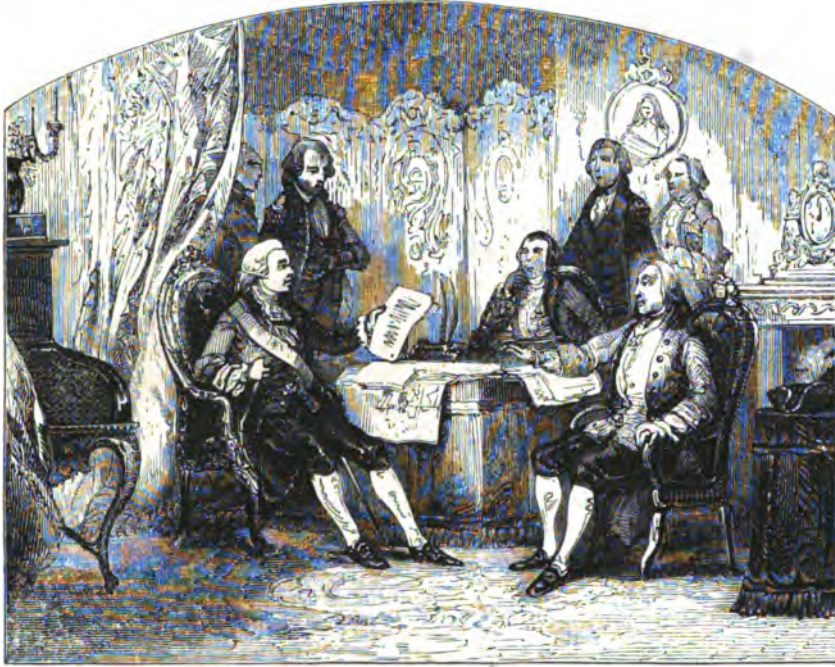
imprudence of General Gage, the royal governor of Massachusetts, led to the commencement of actual hostilities. That officer sent a detachment of eight hundred men to destroy a collection of stores made by the provincials at Concord. Eight Americans were killed in a skirmish at Lexington; the spirit of the people was aroused, and the British were compelled to retreat from Concord to Boston in the presence of the Americans, who succeeded in causing a loss to the detachment of nearly three hundred men. The war was begun in earnest. Ticonderoga and Crown Point soon fell into the hands of the Americans under Allen and Arnold; Putnam and Warren defended their intrenchments on Bunker's Hill with an intrepidity which, though unsuccessful, had the moral effect of a victory, and enabled Washington, appointed commander-in-chief by the Continental Congress, to compel the evacuation of Boston. (March 17, 1776.) An invasion of Canada failed, chiefly through the death of its commander, the brave Montgomery. In June the gallant defence of Fort Moultrie, near Charleston, against General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, still further inspirited the colonists. The enthusiasm in favour of the war had now become universal; the press, the public officers, and even the ministers laboured unanimously for the same object. Almost all the royal governors had fled from the country, relying upon the wealth, resources, and military experience of the English to effect their restoration. But the Americans had not engaged rashly in the war; with great prudence and foresight they had avoided being the aggressors in the contest; they had not suffered the number of their friends to be diminished by errors committed in moments of passion; and now, when war was forced upon them, they armed themselves in confident reliance upon the righteousness of their cause. In calculating the chances of success, they took into the account the great distance by which they were separated from England, and the unanimity engendered among themselves by indignation at wrongs endured and by enthusiasm in the cause of liberty and country.

In the beginning of hostilities the Congress had drawn up conciliatory addresses and petitions, but their vindications and claims were spurned at as artifices to gain time for the better organization of a rebellion. This rejection imbittered the more moderate Americans, who united with the zealous in aiming at the establishment of a free constitution, the first step towards which was the entire dissolution of the connection with Great Britain. On the 7th of June, therefore, Richard Henry Lee moved in Congress the declaration of the independence of the North American states, and on the 4th of July, 1776, the famous instrument, the Declaration of Independence, prepared by Thomas Jefferson, was almost unanimously adopted by Congress. This decisive measure completed the Revolution. But it still remained to defend it by arms. Their oppressors were too deeply enamoured of their power to resign it without a struggle, and the numerous and well-appointed armies of Britain were speedily directed against the new republic. An army of twenty-four thousand men, with adequate naval co-operation, was brought by General Howe to dispossess the American general of New York, which had become his head-



quarters. Defeated on Long Island, not successful at the White Plains, Washington, after witnessing the fall of Forts Washington and Lee, retreated through the Jerseys into Pennsylvania, with his army, now reduced to less than three thousand men, and destitute of almost every necessary. On the day that he was driven over the Delaware, the enemy took possession of Rhode Island. New York and New Jersey were in their hands, and the apparent hopelessness of the contest caused general gloom and despondency. Washington, however, turned the tide of affairs by his constancy. Empowered with dictatorial authority by Congress, elevated above party spirit and self-interest, he alone united in himself all the qualities necessary to success in that crisis—foresight, patience, and mildness, with boldness at the right moment. Having raised the number of his forces to seven thousand men, he recrossed the Delaware, captured, with the loss of nine men, a thousand Hessians at Trenton, gained a brilliant victory at Princeton, drove the enemy from all their posts in the Jerseys except Amboy and Brunswick, and went into secure winter quarters at Morristown. After the loss of the battle of the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, where Lafayette first drew his sword for American freedom, Washington abandoned Philadelphia to the enemy. On the 4th of October he made a spirited but unsuccessful attack on a part of the British army at Germantown; after which he retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge. General Burgoyne had reached Saratoga on his march from Canada, and the great plan of the campaign on the part of the enemy, of hemming in New England, uniting the northern and southern armies, and reducing the less zealous states to submission, appeared likely to be accomplished. But the activity and resolution of the Americans increased as the danger became more imminent, and while Washington watched the southern divisions of the British army, they flocked to the standard of Gates in the north, to oppose the further progress of Burgoyne. The invincible Stark gave to that general the first check by defeating a choice detachment of his troops at Bennington, in Vermont; the roads were speedily blocked up; the British in New York made no effectual attempts to unite with him, and he was finally surrounded and compelled to capitulate, October 16, 1777.

This great and unlooked-for event decided the views of European powers, especially France, concerning the American war. The cabinet of Versailles had displayed unwonted skill and the most profound policy in regard to the affairs of her great rival. The ministry, with firmness and sagacity, refused to Silas Deane, the first plenipotentiary of the United States, any open support; indeed they treated him with the utmost coldness, which was scarcely changed when Benjamin Franklin came to Paris, December, 1776, to assist Deane in his labours. The great fame of Franklin as a philosopher, with his simplicity of habits and sound sense, insured him the influence and respect which Deane had failed to secure. Deane, however, soon saw its effects when, to his great astonishment, cannons, muskets, and other munitions of war were supplied from the king's magazines to be transported to America, the French minister all the while conducting himself towards the American plenipotentiaries as if



FRANCE RECOGNISES AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

he knew nothing about it. The predilections of the French for the Americans had long before manifested itself in all ranks, and very many had followed the example of Lafayette in embarking as volunteers for America. This general inclination was far more strongly expressed after they had received the news of the capture of Burgoyne; the cabinet of France speedily decided on war with England; on the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the American plenipotentiaries, which premised American independence; and on the same day a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was signed, which promised mutually to maintain this independence against England's opposition, and forbade the concluding of a separate peace.

The joy with which the announcement of this alliance was received in the United States was greatly diminished by the embarrassment in regard to money, in which the country had been placed by the depreciation of the paper money emissions of Congress. But, by the patriotic exertions of Robert Morris and other members of Congress, supplies of money were advanced, and arrangements were made to provide supplies, to raise a stronger body of militia, and to increase the army more rapidly.

The retreat of the British from Philadelphia to New York, during which was gained the American victory of Monmouth; and the occupation of Georgia by the enemy, mark the campaign of 1778; that of 1779 is noted

for nothing memorable or decisive, if we except the failure of a combined French and American attack upon Savannah, and the predatory expeditions of the enemy in New York. In 1780, Charleston, with a garrison of five thousand men under General Clinton, was captured, and South Carolina overrun; General Gates, who marched to its rescue, being defeated in the bloody battle of Camden, August 16. In the north, however, the British commander confined himself to predatory excursions, to blockading a French fleet and army in Rhode Island, and to tampering with the fidelity of General Arnold, who negotiated with Major Andre the sale of West Point. The scheme was discovered; Arnold fled to the protection of the British, while Andre, captured and convicted, was hung as a spy. The year 1781 opened with the most brilliant affair of the war; the victory of Morgan at the Cowpens, with five hundred men over one thousand British veterans, led by Tarleton, January 17. Morgan rejoined Greene, who had succeeded Gates in the command in the south, and who now effected his famous retreat from Cornwallis. Being reinforced, he fought without success a battle at Guilford court-house. Cornwallis then marched into Virginia, while Greene returned to South Carolina. He was defeated in the second battle of Camden, but was victorious at Eutaw Springs. He succeeded in breaking up the British line of posts, and forced them to concentrate their army in Charleston. Meanwhile, the prudent and skilful Lafayette had been opposed to Cornwallis in Virginia. The British general, having fortified himself at Yorktown, was besieged there on the 6th of October by the American and French forces, under Washington and the Count Rochambeau. On the 19th he was compelled to capitulate, surrendering his whole force, amounting to seven thousand men and one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery. This great and important success ended the campaign of 1781, and with it the war. The hopelessness of further hostilities became apparent, and provisional articles of peace were signed November, 1782. The definitive treaty was signed on the 30th of September, 1783. In July of that year the British evacuated Savannah; in November, New York, and in December, Charleston.

The war being ended, Washington, to whose unshaken constancy and unrivalled ability the states were indebted for their triumph, resigned his authority and retired to private life. But he was called upon to preside over the Convention, which consolidated and perfected independence by adopting a constitution, which was soon after substituted for the so-called Act of Confederation, adopted July 9, 1778. This had proved a fruitful cause of sufferings and evils, and the jealousy of separate independent state sovereignties would, under it, have in a few years rendered the Americans both unhappy and contemptible. The independence which had been won by union threatened to be rendered of no avail by dissension, and the confederation seemed about to fall to pieces. Under these circumstances, the firmness, wisdom, and moderation of Washington were invaluable, and as president of the Convention he rendered services not less valuable than his former warlike exploits.*

* Von Raumer.

The new constitution having been ratified and adopted by the several states, Washington was unanimously chosen first president of the United States under it. During the two terms of his presidency, he abstained from all foreign contests, aided internal improvements, and guided the country into that path which has proved so advantageous. In 1796, having declined a reelection, he surrendered his power into the hands of John Adams, who had been chosen his successor. In the opening speech to the sixth Congress, President Adams complained that France had shown herself arrogant in word and deed, and expressed his fears that America would be forced into a war with her. Fresh negotiations were attempted, but the Directory required that America should buy of them thirty-two millions of worthless Dutch paper, pay a large sum as a gratuity to Talleyrand, and whatever other demands their dishonourable agents had the audacity to propose. When this became known in America, the indignant cry of "Millions for defence, but not a cent for tribute," was heard on all sides, and a war was commenced with France, 1798, which lasted until the downfall of the Directory in 1800. Under the administration of Thomas Jefferson, a treaty was concluded with France, by which the immense territory of Louisiana was ceded to the United States for fifteen millions of dollars; and the Bashaw of Tripoli, who had annoyed American commerce in the Mediterranean by his piracies, was compelled to sign a favourable peace. The decrees of Napoleon and the British orders in council, having combined to cast off American vessels both from England and the continent, occasioned much angry feeling. The French yielded to the remonstrances of the Americans, but the British having joined to their other pretensions that of the right to search American ships for British seamen liable to impressment, became involved in angry controversies with the Americans, who began to prepare for war. A serious Indian war commenced at the instigation of the British, and, organized by the power and eloquence of Tecumseh, first occupied the attention of the country. General Harrison was sent into the Indian country with orders to demand a redress of grievances, and in case of a refusal to use coercive measures. The Indians held a conference with him and agreed to a suspension of hostilities until it should be renewed on the following day. In the night, however, they made a furious attack upon his camp. The onset was bravely withstood until daylight, when the Americans found themselves surrounded by the foe, who poured in upon them a deadly fire from all sides. A charge with fixed bayonets drove them back, and the mounted riflemen, dashing in among them, threw them into confusion, and they dispersed in every direction. The battle of Tippecanoe, thus happily terminated, was but the prelude to a general war. At the time of its occurrence, Tecumseh was in the South, persuading the Creek Indians and others to join his confederacy. The violation of the rights of the Americans by the British having continued to increase in number and enormity, the United States determined upon a declaration of war against Great Britain, June 18, 1812. General Hull, the governor of Michigan, was placed in command of an army for the invasion of Canada, and might have met with consi-

derable success had he possessed the requisite activity and courage, but he proved cowardly and imbecile, and suffered himself and his army to be made prisoners by the capitulation of Detroit. (August, 1812.) This disaster encouraged the Indians along the whole northwestern frontier to commence active hostilities; all who had been wavering having decided on war. General Harrison was chosen to succeed Hull, and displayed great ability in his endeavours to retrieve the affairs in the northwest. Meanwhile, events of some importance occurred in the vicinity of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. An attempted invasion of Canada in this quarter failed through the misconduct of the American militia, who refused to cross the river to the support of the regulars, after the latter had, in the most gallant manner, gained the victory of Queenstown. The campaign on land thus ended in the success of the British. On the sea, however, their superiority was more successfully disputed. Captains Porter, Hull, Jones, Decatur, Bainbridge, and others, fought with the zeal of men anxious to avenge the sufferings of their fellow-mariners, and to redeem the honour of their profession, which had been greatly aspersed. Their success was almost totally unexpected, and the accounts of their achievements staggered the credulity of their enemies, and filled the breasts of the Americans with the greatest joy and exultation. In six months the national vessels carried the flag of the republic into every sea, and the three losses only which had been sustained were made under such circumstances as to reflect high honour on the vanquished. The privateers, the fastest sailers on the ocean, were able to overtake almost any merchantman, or to escape from the fastest frigate. While the commerce of the states sustained scarcely any damage, the enemy had lost by November two hundred and fifty vessels and three thousand prisoners.

The defeat of General Winchester and the massacre of the American prisoners by the British and Indians at Frenchtown, the gallant defence of Fort Meigs by General Harrison, the battle of Little York, where the lamented General Pike was slain, the capture of Fort George, the defence of Sackett's Harbour by General Brown, form, with Colonel Croghan's defence of Fort Sandusky and General Harrison's victory on the Thames, the principal events of the war in the north during 1813. In the east and south the British made hostile demonstrations in the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, while General Jackson prepared himself for future services by a glorious campaign against the Creeks.

The campaign of 1814, in the north, was brilliantly opened by General Brown with a victory at Chippewa. This success was followed by another more glorious at Queenstown and Lundy's Lane. The siege of Fort Erie and the battle of Plattsburg also shed lustre on the American army. On the 10th of September, 1813, Commodore Perry gained his famous victory on Lake Erie, and the example which he there set was ably followed by McDonough in defeating the British fleet on Lake Champlain. The honour of the national flag was equally well sustained by the exploits of the gallant seamen on the ocean.

In 1814, a British force under Major General Ross succeeded in taking the city of Washington and destroying its public buildings, but

Ross was defeated, with the loss of his life, in an attempt upon the city of Baltimore. At the close of the year another British army, under Packenham, landed near New Orleans, and afforded to General Jackson an opportunity of achieving the greatest victory ever gained on American soil. January 8, 1815. This event occurred, however, after a peace had been signed between the belligerent nations. (December, 1814.)

At the commencement of the war between Great Britain and the United States, the Dey of Algiers, confiding in the supposed maritime supremacy of the English, and hoping to acquire valuable American prizes with impunity, commenced hostilities. After the conclusion of peace in 1815, war was declared against Algiers, and Commodore Decatur was ordered to the Mediterranean with a squadron. The fame of the deeds of our youthful navy had long since reached the Dey, and he no sooner found Decatur determined upon active hostilities than he sought for peace. By the treaty, it was provided that all Americans in slavery were to be given up without ransom, and that henceforth no tribute should ever be required from the United States by Algiers, in any form or under any pretext whatever, and that compensation should be made for American property destroyed or detained by the Dey. Other stipulations, extremely favourable to the United States, were also agreed to. The Bey of Tunis and the Bashaw of Tripoli were also forced to give a compensation for wrongs suffered by the Americans at their hands.

President Monroe obtained from Spain the cession of East and West Florida; a territory which afterwards became the seat of an unimportant war with the Seminole Indians. The number of the states has more than doubled since the revolution, and their territory still further increased by the annexation of the independent state of Texas, under the administration of James K. Polk. It is astonishing to reflect upon the advance of the United States, its prosperity in business, and its rapid and steady progress in every great interest. After having seen, to use the words of a celebrated geographer,* how completely the American constitution secures all the purposes of a good government, and at how cheap a rate, the fear and trembling which marked its commencement are exchanged for steadfast confidence and unbounded hope; it stands like a lighthouse on the shore of the sea of liberty to direct the political voyager in his perilous course to the port of freedom. Every Anniversary of the National Independence gives increasing proof of the attachment of the citizens to their excellent form of government, and affords additional evidence of its stability and perpetuity; and the American citizen cannot be found who would be willing to exchange it for any other government on the earth.

* Haskel.



TIPPOO SAHIB, FROM A HINDOO PORTRAIT.

CHAPTER XIX.

India and China.



THE discovery of a passage around the Cape of Good Hope opened the way to India to a new race of conquerors, far more formidable than the Moham-medans, who had established their dominion there. The Portuguese, by whom it was effected, never acquired more than a petty territory on the West coast, and the continental acquisitions of the Dutch were limited to a few commercial factories. The French, by the active operations of Dupleix, seemed at one time to be on the high road to the establishment of a great Indian sovereignty, but the extraordinary talents, courage, and enterprise of the celebrated Clive, and the greater resources and superior maritime strength of the English caused their almost total expulsion from the peninsula. The British empire in India has grown out of a territorial acquisition of five miles square on the Coromandel coast, where Madras now stands. (A. D. 1639.) It had increased very little previous to the time of Clive, who, during the interval between 1750 and 1765, overthrew the Mogul and his allies,

and acquired Bengal, the richest of all the Indian provinces, the most defensible, and the magazine whence have been drawn the resources necessary to conquer and preserve the subsequent acquisitions of the British. In 1773, a governor-general was appointed to reside in Bengal, to which presidency the two others, Calcutta and Bombay, were made subordinate. Warren Hastings greatly extended the company's territories, and rendered its influence paramount in Northern India; but the means he employed were inconsistent with European notions of equity, and he was displaced. Lord Cornwallis became governor-general in 1785, reformed many abuses in the administration, and prosecuted to its close a war with Tippoo Sahib, which rendered the authority of the British supreme from the river Kushna to Cape Comorin. Sir John Shore succeeded Cornwallis, and still further improved the internal organization of the government. Under the governorship of the Marquis of Wellesley, another war broke out between the English and Tippoo Sahib, supported by his French allies, which ended in the defeat and death of that prince. The British power was soon after rendered supreme in the Peninsula by a war with the Mahattas. Subsequently the Goorka tribes were overcome, and ceded to their conquerors as the price of peace territories which brought them into close contact with the Chinese Empire. Other acquisitions followed, and, in 1819, the settlement of Singapore opened to the British the lucrative commerce of the Indian archipelago. Many new and valuable provinces were obtained by a war with the Burmese, 1823, and within the last few years the English have involved themselves in extremely troublesome wars with two new kingdoms which arose from the ruins of the Mogul empire, that of the Afghans and that of the Sikhs.

In China, after the expulsion of the descendants of Kublai Khan, twelve Emperors of the native dynasty of Ming reigned in comparative peace till the year 1618, when, during the sway of the thirteenth in succession, the Mantchoux, a Tartar horde, profited by internal dissensions of the Chinese to gain admittance into the empire, and succeeded in subduing the country by rendering it a desert in a war of twenty-seven years' duration. The first sovereign of this Tartar dynasty, the Ta-tsin, was Shunchy, and the sixth in descent from him, Tao Kwang, is now firmly seated on the throne of China. This Emperor, who succeeded in 1820, is more prejudiced against foreigners than his predecessors; a fact to which, perhaps, is to be attributed the opium war. Large quantities of opium continuing to be smuggled into the country, contrary to the imperial mandates, the Chinese authorities determined to put an end to the traffic, and accordingly compelled Captain Elliott, the English resident at Canton, to consent to the destruction of several cargoes of opium, and disregarded his protests against the restraint to which he was subjected. War was declared against China by the English government; Canton and Ning-po, two of the most important cities in China, though defended by immense masses of imperial troops, were taken by small British armies, and the impe-

rialists were finally forced to make a treaty, August 29, 1842, by which the island of Hong Kong was ceded to them for ever; the Chinese bound to pay the expenses of the war and a compensation for the destroyed opium, and five of the principal Chinese ports were thrown open to foreign commerce.

We have endeavoured to give an outline of the History of the World. Our limits have allowed but little space for general remarks. The subject itself is indeed replete with topics for reflection; and every intelligent reader, as he peruses the narrative, will supply from his own mind the obvious moral which the great events and characters of history suggest. One thing which will present itself forcibly to the attentive reader, on a review of the whole narrative, is the retribution which follows the misdeeds of nations as well as individuals. He will perceive that national crimes are followed by national punishment; that oppression produces revolt; that tyranny prepares the means for its own downfall; that war injures the conquering as well as the conquered; and that the national prosperity which riots in crime is sooner or later succeeded by the bitter adversity which compels repentance. In short, the history of the world teaches that there is an Almighty Disposer of events, who administers even-handed justice among the children of men. "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice."



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